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QUARTO MEMOIRS OF
THE BEDFORDSHIRE
HISTORICAL REC-
ORD SOCIETY
VOLUME I.

Quarto memoirs v.1

BEDFORDSHIRE IN 1086:
AN
ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS OF DOMESDAY BOOK
BY
G. HERBERT FOWLER.

"E VUS NE POEZ REN FERE OUTRE
LE RECORD KE EST VOSTRE GARANT."
LOUTHER: HEREFORD EYRE, 1292.

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Quarto memoirs

Fowler, G. Herbert
Bedfordshire in 1086; an analysis
and synthesis of Domesday book. 1922
Vol. 1

THE BEDFORDSHIRE
HISTORICAL RECORD
SOCIETY

"A century hence . . . the substance of Domesday Book will have been rearranged. Those villages and hundreds which the Norman clerks tore into shreds will have been reconstituted and pictured in maps, for many men from over all England will have come within King William's spell, will have bowed themselves to him and become that man's men."

Maitland : Domesday Book and Beyond, p. 520.

F42703.055

ABBREVIATIONS.

a.	acres.
B.H.R.S.	Publications of Bedfordshire Historical Record Society.
Bp.	Bishop.
Ct.	Count.
D.B.	Domesday Book, and its edition by the Record Commission.
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography.
E.	Earl.
f.	father of.
h.	hides.
li.	pounds.
m.	'man,' or 'men of.'
Q.R.	the value of the land when received (quando receiptum) about 1067.
R.C.	or Rec. Com., editions of the Record Commission.
R.S.	Rolls Series of Chronicles and Memorials.
s.	son of.
th.	thane.
T. in C.	Tenant in Chief.
T.R.E.	in the day of King Edward (tempore regis Edwardi), in or before 1066.
T.R.W.	in the day of King William (tempore regis Willelmi), 1066-1086.
v.	virgates.
V.C.H.	Victoria County History (of Beds., unless otherwise stated).
w.	wife of.

3.1
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BEDFORDSHIRE IN 1086: AN ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS OF DOMESDAY BOOK.

By G. HERBERT FOWLER.

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PART I. INTRODUCTORY.

§ 1. *The Birth of Domesday Book.*^a—"Year 1085 Then at midwinter was the King at Gloucester with his wise men, and held there his court, five days. . . . Afterwards the King held great council and very deep speech with his wise men about this land, how it was settled, or with what men. He sent his men over all England into each shire, and let render how many hundred hides were within that shire, or what the King himself had of land, and of cattle within that land, or what rights he ought to have from that shire for a twelve-month. Also he let write how much land his archbishops had, and his bishops, and his abbots, and his earls; and—though I tell it lengthily—what or how much each man that was settled on the land in England held in land or in cattle, and how much fee it was worth. So very narrowly he let it be shown, there was not a single hide nor a yard of land, nor further—it is shame to tell though he deemed it no shame to do—was there one ox nor one cow nor a head of swine left, that was not set on his writing. And all the writings were brought to him after."

§ 2. *Collection of Material for the Survey.*—Such is the account which the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives of the origin of Domesday Book. No complete record exists to show how the work of the Great Survey was carried out, and we are compelled to piece together scraps of evidence. The *Inquisitio Eliensis* is a return of the lands of the Abbot of Ely, contemporary with D.B., which Dr. Round^b regards as having been compiled, partly from the original returns on which the first volume of D.B. was based, partly on the second volume of D.B. itself; the heading of this seems to show the procedure by which the original returns were obtained:—

"Below is written here the Inquest of Lands what way the King's Barons held inquest, namely, by oath of the Shire-reeve, and of all Barons and their Frenchmen, and of the whole Hundred, [and] of the priest the reeve and six villans of every vill."

It is fairly clear that we are dealing here with a succession of inquests on oath, arranged in order of descending social and economic importance, not with one simultaneous gathering of scores of people. The "King's Barons" are the Commissioners or Legati whom he sent "over all England into each shire"; they received the returns made on oath by the Sheriff, by the tenants-in-chief (barons) and their undertenants (Frenchmen), by the Hundred Moots, and by the eight usual representatives of each vill. Copies of the written returns made by the Hundred Moots have been preserved in the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, and in a similar contemporary document, the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*. It is not so certain that the villis presented written returns to the Hundred; but it is eminently probable, from the swiftness with which the Survey was carried out, that the initial work was done in and by each vill separately; that the vill itself, assembled as town moot or hall moot, prepared the first returns. Indeed this is almost implied by such phrases as "Saleford answers (defendit se) for five hides." Only with

the greybeards of the vill would linger the tradition of pre-conquest ownership, and the memory of wrongful seizure of land twenty years ago.

The procedure may be conceived as follows: each vill sent as complete a return as it could to the Hundred Moot, by the mouths if not by the hands of its usual jurors, "the priest, the reeve, and six villans." The Hundred Moot revised and embodied these returns in the form preserved to us in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, consisting of a list of jurors, followed by a list of the villis in which each separate holding was set out; the Hundred then submitted its return to the Sheriff in Shire Moot (§ 37), or to the Commissioners, or to both, by the hands of its eight jurors. As Dr. Round has shown, of these eight, four were of French, four of English birth; an instance of "the King's policy of combining the old with the new, and fusing his subjects, their rights and institutions, into one harmonious whole." The returns as accepted by the Commissioners were sent to Winchester for enrolment, and probably not till then were the entries rearranged into their present form, that is, by estates or fiefs under the name of the overlord; for the new arrangement, possibly also at an earlier stage, the oaths of the tenants-in-chief and under-tenants would be taken. From the colophon of the second volume of D.B. it appears that the returns were made to the King in 1086; whether or not the fair copy of the returns was completed within that time, has been disputed.

While the names of the D.B. Commissioners for this county do not seem to have been preserved, no one who has studied the record with care can fail to perceive that the same men took the evidence for Herts, Bucks, Beds and Cambs. The order and nature of the answers, and even the phrasing, are identical in these four counties, and entirely different (for example) from those in the Hunts. D.B.

§ 3. *Saxon Scribe and Norman Clerk.*—There is one little point of interest which confirms the view that the original returns were drawn up in and by Vill and Hundred; namely, the evidence that they were actually written by a Saxon scribe, which is afforded by the misspellings of the final (Norman) copyist, unacquainted with the special Saxon letters. Such misspellings occur also in the D.B. of other counties; in our own, the writing of Colmeborde (St^r for Colmworth), Suthgible (129, for Southill), and Nortgible (177, for Northill), in which the letter wen (w) has apparently been mistaken for b; and the writing of Pileworde (120, for Tillsworth), in which the letter thorn (th) has been mistaken for p, are cases in point. Birch suggests from other errors in the spelling of names, that the final fair copy was made from dictation,—a method which would save time and strain, but increase the possibility of error. He adds the pertinent remark that "we cannot accept Domesday forms of names of places as evidence of the ancient form of the words unless they are supported by other contemporary examples of use." This view is borne out by the brief list of Saxon and D.B. place-names in B.H.R.S., v. 39; and is indeed obvious from the way in which personal names of Saxons are misspelt in the record, or from the varied spellings of what is now spelt Redbornstoke (§ 42).

§ 4. *Purpose of the Survey.*—"One great purpose seems to mould both its form and its substance." "Our Record is no register of title, it is no feodary, it is no custumal, it is no rent roll; it is a tax book; a geld book", connected with the raising of the Dangelde (§ 111). This tax had been levied at least three times between the Conquest and the date of Domesday Book. The Conqueror found, however, that the assessment required adjustment; it produced less than it should; many estates or parts of estates (§ 58, 111) were exempt, and some (whatever the reason

a. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Edition of R.S. (23), i, 353. Ed. Plummer and Earle, i, 216.

b. Round: F.E., 133-137.

c. Throughout this memoir, the numbers appended to the name of a vill show its serial position in the original manuscript (§ 11) and in Table IV.

d. Maitland, D.B., 3, 5.

may have been) were undoubtedly underrated. The holding of Miles Crispin at Clapham 99 will serve to illustrate this point; he was assessed at 5 hides, though he held (say) 3,600 acres of arable land, and his manor was worth the very large sum of 24 li. yearly; but at Chainhale 126, Hugh de Beauchamp was also assessed at 5 hides, his arable land being only (say) 600 acres and his manor worth only 8 li. "That William intended to correct the old assessment, or rather to sweep it away and put a new assessment in its stead, seems highly probable, though it has not been proved that either he or his sons accomplished this feat. For this purpose, however, materials were to be collected which would enable the royal officers to decide what changes were necessary in order that all England might be taxed in accordance with a just and uniform plan."

§ 5. *The Interrogatory.*—If the questions put by the Commissioners for the preparation of D.B. were the same as those for the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, as seems probable, they held inquest of the following particulars:—

"How the manor is called: who held it in the time of King Edward: who now holds it: how many hides: how many teams on demesne: how many [teams] of the men: how many villans: how many cottars: how many serfs: how many free men: how many socmen: how much wood: how much meadow: how much pasture^b: how many mills: how many fisheries: how much [land] has been added or withdrawn: how much the whole was worth together, and how much now: how much each free man or socman had or has there. This whole thrice, namely in the time of King Edward, and when King William granted it, and what like it may be now, and whether more can be had [from it] than is had."

It will be observed that something of all these particulars appear in our record, except the value of the lands of free men and socmen; these classes may have accounted for their own lands, at least in some cases, but there is nothing in our record to show it.^c There seems to be no doubt that the lord was responsible for geld of the land of villans and similar classes.

§ 6. *Rearrangement of the returns by Fiefs.*—While the materials collected for D.B. were concerned primarily with assessment for taxation, incidentally they are of value to us as a register of title, and as a census of men and stock. In D.B., as contrasted with the original returns, the lands of each 'tenant-in-chief from the King' are brought together as a roll of his estate. From the point of view of the royal officers who had to levy men or money on him, this was the only feasible arrangement. But for those who seek to learn from D.B. something of the social and economic life of the country, who wish to create for themselves a picture of each several township, who want to trace the alterations in tenure produced by the coming of the Normans or the financial effect of the Conquest, Domesday Book as it stands is merely a bewildering patchwork, in which many townships have been torn into scraps and attached to equally incoherent fragments by the mere accident of ownership. Thus, for example, parts of Turvey are recorded among the lands of eight different tenants-in-chief; and Nigel d'Albini held land in at least fifteen different villis.

§ 7. *The Task of Reconstruction.*—The first step towards a proper grasp of D.B. is once again to join these severed fragments, so that each Manor and Vill and Hundred can be seen as a whole; in other words, to reconstruct in substance though not in the exact form, the original returns which the Hundred furnished to the Commissioners. When this has been done by means of tables, and indexes have been supplied for cross reference, then only can statistics or principles, classes or estates, be compared and studied as may be wished.

The value of this reconstruction should not be confined to the County. Until similar work has been carried out for many counties, it is not possible satisfactorily to discuss the meaning of D.B. as a whole, nor indeed properly to understand its details. Writers on our record, even of so acute an intellect as the late Prof. Maitland, have found that a conclusion drawn from one part of England often fails to fit the facts in another part. Nor is this surprising, seeing that in 1086 'England' was still not much more than a geographical expression, in which were living different races and tribes, who had brought different customs with them from different parts of Europe, and till lately had been distributed among different kingdoms. When it has become possible to compare and reason about (say) the Wessex counties as a whole, and to weigh them against the Mercian counties as a whole, and not till then, it will be reasonable to discuss their relations to Lincolnshire or Kent; as a preliminary step we must ascertain the normal for each county.

It follows naturally from the aim of this task, and it cannot be emphasised too clearly at the outset, that such conclusions as are drawn in this memoir are intended to apply solely to Bedfordshire. It is for others to enquire how far they may be adapted to the problems presented by the Domesday Book of other counties.

§ 8. *The Text of Domesday Book.*—The text of the Bedfordshire Domesday is accessible in Latin, both in the facsimile edition produced by the Ordnance Survey (Southampton, 4to., 1862), and in the reprint issued by the Record Commissioners (Domesday Book, vol. i., pp. 209—218b.) An English trans-

*Aspeleia, p. x. hōs se defē. Acard' de um ten' de
hugone. Terra ē. xii. car' in dno. ii. car' 7 rāu
potest fieri 7 xvi. uilli hnt. viii. car' 7 nona potest
fieri lb. iij. bord 7 s. serui. 7 i. molin. x. siluay.
p. x. car. Silua. l. porc. In t'ras ualent uat
vni lb. xdo recip. c. f. t. t. f. x. uo. hoc ē conu
leueua comit' Wallef comit'. 7 quo uoluit
cu terra sua recedere potuit.*

Manerium.

Aspeleia pro decem hidis se defendit. Acardus de iuri tenet de Hugone. Terra est duodecim carrucis. In dominio due carruce et tercia potest fieri et sedecim uillani habent octo carrucas et nona potest fieri. Ibi quatuor bordarii et quinque serui et unum molinum decem solidorum. Pratum decem carrucis. Silua quinquaginta porcis. In totis ualenciis ualet octo libre. Quando receptum centum solidi. Tempore Regis Edwardi decem libre. Hoc manerium tenuit Leueua commendata Wallef comitis et quo uoluit cum terra sua recedere potuit.

Manor.

Aspley answers for 10 hides. Acard de Ivri holds from Hugh. There is land for 12 teams. In demesne are two teams and there can be a third, and 16 villans have eight teams and there can be a ninth. There are 4 bordars and 5 serfs and a mill of 10s. Meadow for 10 teams. Wood for 50 swine. In total values it is worth 8 li., when received 100s., in the time of King Edward 10 li. Leueva, commended to Earl Walthef, held this manor, and could withdraw with her land where she would.

a. Maitland: D.B., 4.

b. Two texts read "how many pastures."

c. Compare § 146.

lation by the Rev. F. W. Ragg, with a valuable introduction by Dr. J. H. Round, may be studied in the Victoria History of Bedfordshire, vol. i., pp. 191-266, with indexes of persons and places at the end of the volume.

As is usual in early documents, the words of the text are much contracted, and it is by no means always certain how these contractions should be expanded. An entry of the usual type, contracted, expanded, and translated, is, therefore, supplied, in order to show the method of treatment adopted in the present memoir; this should be compared with the corresponding entry on Table I.

§ 9. The Facsimile of 1862. — A note of warning may be added here: that the Facsimile, although a wonderful piece of work for the date (1862) when it was made, is not always absolutely trustworthy, especially when the ink of the original has faded or been rubbed off. Collation of doubtful passages with the manuscript has therefore made possible some additions and corrections to the translation given in V.C.H., i, 221-266; a list of these follows. The numbers of page and column refer to V.C.H., i; the number of the line gives its position in the entry, not in the page.

Page.	Col.	Entry.	Line.	
223	2	Eversholt	11	8 For "when received 20 shillings" read "when received 30 shillings".
224	1	Stagsden	15	5 For "and 7" read "and 6".
224	2	Melchbourne	20	7 For "[]" read "3".
224	2	Dean	21	2 For "[]" read "5 ploughs."
225	2	Hinwick	30	1 For "Turstan" read "Turstin".
226	2	Estone	37	2 For "1 hide" read "1 1/2 hide".
245	1	Bigglesw. Hund.	203	4 For "52" read "7".
247	2	Northill	223	1 For "Walter" read "William".
255	2	Sharnbrook	286	8 For "the" read "40".
256	1	Stratton	288	7 For "3" read "4".
261	1	Hockliffe	335	5 For "(11 2)" read "11".

§ 10. Previous Tables. — The present tables are by no means the first attempts of their kind. About 1874 the Rev. W. Airy, vicar of Keysoe, completed his "Digest of the Domesday of Bedfordshire"; this was published by his son in 1881, but is no longer in print. The book marked a distinct advance in the study of D.B., and has often been utilised by later writers. But a great deal of work has been done on the Domesday period and on the county history since that date, which has lowered the historical value of the book. Again, Bedfordshire was among the six counties treated by Mr F. H. Baring in his "Domesday Tables" (1909), an interesting and suggestive work; these tables, however, dealt with some only of the D.B. returns, and omitted numerous details for which the reader was referred to Mr Airy's Digest. There seems, therefore, to be a place for fresh synthesis and analysis of the County Domesday, which is intended not only to present all detail in a convenient form, re-constituting every vill and hundred as far as possible, but also to prepare the way for further research by summaries of estates, of classes, of values, and so forth, in tables and maps.

§ 11. Numeration of the Entries. — Even in so small a county as this the entries are so numerous as to bewilder the student, and it is a first necessity to have some method of ready reference to every entry. The usual method of reference—to the folio of the transcript of the Record Commission—sends the reader to an enormous page of two closely printed columns, in

a. Owing to the softness of the paper, this can only be done neatly in the Facsimile edition by pencil or waterproof ink.

b. The phrase is ambiguous; it may perhaps mean that the mill lay

which the object of his quest is often hard to find. In the original and facsimile the separate entries are generally so sharply defined—marked as a rule by rubrication of the initial letter—that no method can be simpler and clearer than a numbering of each entry in serial order; and I venture to recommend to every student of the Great Survey that he should number the entries in his copy in the same way.^a This can readily be done from Table IV., which follows the order of the original text. The long and detailed work, of which the results are given in Part III. of this memoir, has tested the principle of numeration severely, and convinced the writer that it cannot be bettered. Throughout this memoir an arabic number in ordinary type, printed after the name of a vill, is the serial number of the entry in D.B.; a small letter on the line after a vill refers to the position of the entry in the Schedule to Table I. (§ 20).

§ 12. Translation. — The small amount of translation in this memoir, forming column xxiii. and the Schedule to Table I., is believed to follow the lines usually adopted by D.B. students of to-day.

Two points only need be noted. (i) In the case of certain claims made for land—for example, William Spech holds 7h. iv. in Chawston 215, and his men claim "DE his vir hidis et i virgata" for an acre and a half of meadow against the men of Eudo—it is obvious that they do not claim for meadow 'out of' arable, but 'in right of' their arable; and 'de' in such cases has been translated accordingly. (ii) The phrase 'iacere in' has given previous trouble to other students of our record. It appears to be used in three senses: (a) as meaning simply 'belongs to'; for example, Cranfield 52 "belonged and belongs to the Church of St. Benedict"; (b) as applied to something which lies physically or legally in a place; thus a mill in Bromham 302 "is indeed of the fee of the Countess, but does not lie in this land," meaning apparently that the mill belonged to her manor, but was physically built on some other land; again soke is said to lie legally in the place where it must be rendered, as the soles of Wilshamstead 296 and of Elstow 297 "lay in" Kempston; (c) as meaning 'is appurtenant to', and then translated in this memoir as 'lies to'; examples of this are in Bedford 1, Hanefeld 86, Cople 173, Stratton 242; Wardon 291, Hailey 322, and Everton 241; variants of this use are 'iacere ad' in Marston 77 and Pabenham 230, 'iacere cum' in Houghton Conquest 331, 'iacere ibi' in Staughton 24 and Barton 33, and 'adiacere' in Leighton 2.

§ 13. Tabulation. — It is probably humanly impossible, in such detailed work as these Tables and the subsequent computations, for a single-handed student to escape error. The mere copying and rearrangement is difficult enough to achieve with any accuracy; as the greatest living Domesday scholar complains "No one who has not analysed and collated such texts for himself can realise the extreme difficulty of avoiding occasional error. The abbreviations and the formulæ employed in these surveys are so many pitfalls for the transcriber, and the use of Roman numerals is almost fatal to accuracy." Fractions of hides and virgates, plough-teams and money, are a further trial to one whose arithmetic was always weak. Only a staff of clerks, to check and cross-check, could have ensured absolute accuracy; and the writer will gratefully receive notes of errors detected, and will take opportunity to publish them later.

Especially must all grand totals be regarded as approximations; there are many points of doubtful interpretation where the meaning of our record is incapable of being construed with certainty; possibly the compiler was not clear himself, owing to the vagueness of local returns. For example, there is an oft recurring difficulty:—"In Houstone Hugh holds five hides. There is land for six teams and they are there. And eight villans and six hordars and five serfs" (Houghton Conquest, 135). Are all the hides to be reckoned as Hugh's demesne, or were some villan land? were the teams all his, or did the villans hold some oxen? In such a case I have generally accepted the teams as *on demesne*, because the entry which distinguishes between demesne teams and villan teams is so commonly found, but I have not put the hides into demesne unless authorised by a definite statement. Consequently the hide *ad* in demesne perhaps may have been larger than is shown in the Tables.

physically on her Bromham land, but that it rendered its profits to some other manor of the Countess. Yet in that case they should have obviously been entered under that manor, and apparently are not so entered.

§ 14. **Maitland's Statistical Tables.**—"As matters now stand, two men not unskilled in Domesday might add up the number of hides in a county and arrive at very different results because they would hold different opinions as to the meaning of certain formulas which are not uncommon." Thus Maitland—and he might have added other sources of divergence. But it is instructive to set his totals^a alongside of those produced in Table III. and elsewhere in this memoir, not only for the intrinsic value attached to all his work, but also in order to emphasise once again that in statistics drawn from D.B. the figures may faithfully reflect comparative results, but cannot present absolute numbers accurately.

	Population.	Hides.	Teamlands.	Teams.	Valet.
Maitland	3875	1193	1557	1367	1096li.
Table III.	3723	1210	1581	1401	1033li.
Difference p.c. ...	-4.0	+1.4	+1.5	+2.4	-6.0

Maitland took the figure of Population from Ellis, who probably did not attempt to reduce the number of undertenants as has been done in Table VII.; and took the Valet from Pearson, who included estimates of the value of the royal farms and of silver when paid in various ways (§ 114), which I have not dared to do. In all other cases my figures are the higher, but their percentage difference from Maitland's totals is not large; it is not so likely to be due to faulty arithmetic as to the principles respectively adopted in the interpretation of the record.

Similarly the figures of population given in Mr Airy's "Digest," when comparable with those in the present Tables, are not found to agree with them exactly.

§ 15. **Apologia.**—One great Domesday student has written of another, "Great masses of [his] work consist of similar guesses and assumptions. Now if these were kept scrupulously apart from the facts, they would not much matter; but they are so inextricably confused with the real facts of Domesday that, virtually, one can never be sure if one is dealing with facts or fancies." The present writer has most earnestly tried to give no just foundation for a similar criticism; the third part of this memoir is indeed packed with "guesses and assumptions"; but every effort has been made to say, as clearly as language permits, what are fancies and what are facts. It is surely permissible, without defying this Society's motto, to hazard suggestions, which can be tested against inferences from the record in other counties. This indeed was one of the chief motives for undertaking the work; without such suggestions the interpretation of D.B. can make no further advance, for all its salient features have been picked out long ago, and only local spade-work can correct and add to the inferences which earlier students have already drawn.

§ 16. **Literature.**—Reference has been frequently made in foot-notes to works of which the full titles are:

- Baring, F. H.—*Domesday Tables*, London, 1909, 8vo.
 Davis, H. W. C. and Whitwell, R. J.—*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*. Vol. i.; Oxford, 1913, 8vo. Quoted as 'Regesta.'
 Freeman, E. A.—*The Norman Conquest*. London, 1870-1876, 8vo. Quoted as 'Freeman, N. C.'
 Maitland, F. W.—*Domesday Book and Beyond*. Cambridge, 1907, 8vo. Quoted as 'Maitland, D. B.'

a. Maitland: D.B., 400-401.

Round, J. H.—*Feudal England*. London, 1909, 8vo. Quoted as 'Round, F. E.'

Round, J. H.—*Domesday Studies* (reprinted from *Domesday Commemorative Studies*. London, 1888-1891, 4to.)

Turner, G. J.—*Calendar of Feet of Fines relating to County of Huntingdon*. Camb. Antiq. Soc., 1913, 8vo. Quoted as 'Turner, Hunts. Fines.'

Walter of Henley; together with an Anonymous Husbandry. Seneschaucie, etc. R. Hist. Soc., 1890, 8vo. Quoted as 'R. Hist. Soc.'

Full acknowledgment of the present writer's indebtedness to the works of Dr. J. H. Round and the late Professor Maitland is impossible; the obligation can only be met by a humble attempt to follow in the paths which they have illumined. To Dr. J. E. Morris and to another friend, who read practically the whole memoir in manuscript, he owes thanks for many suggestions and corrections.

§ 17. **Explanation of common terms.**—The Guides to each Table successively follow this paragraph, but inference and detailed explanation have been deferred to Part III. To those who are unfamiliar with the language of D.B., the following brief but limited definitions of words used in the Tables may prove temporarily helpful; their subjects are discussed at length in the paragraphs set against them.

Hide of land—the unit of assessment for Danegeld ...	§ 54
Hidage—the assessment of an estate in hides ...	§ 55-57
Teamland—the land which can be tilled by one team of 8 oxen ...	§ 59, 60
Demesne—lands retained in the lord's hand for personal use or profit ...	
Villans bordars serfs—peasants dependent on the lord, graded in order of descending importance ...	§ 99-105
Valet—the yearly value of the land and other profits ...	§ 118-121
Socmen—dependents of higher status than villans, lower than 'sub-tenants'; chiefly pre-Conquest ...	§ 98, 138-141

GUIDE TO TABLE I.

§ 18. **Tabulation of the Villis.**—Except for the first nine entries in our Record, most of the information given by D.B. falls readily into tabular form. Statements which cannot well be exhibited thus, such as claims and disseisins, are set out on the right-hand pages of Table I; with them are printed passages of which the exact meaning is doubtful, or which contain unusual facts or expressions. This first table, which is the basis of the whole memoir, includes (it is believed) with one exception, all the information furnished by the original text; it was prepared from the Facsimile edition, has been checked by Mr Ragg's translation, and has been collated with the original manuscript where any uncertainty was felt. The single omission referred to above is the power of his disposal of his land possessed by the pre-Conquest holder; this was so nearly universal in Bedfordshire, that only those cases where it was wanting have been given in Table I., and they will be found in column xxiii.

Column

- i This gives the modern or modernised name of the vill or manor, and the D.B. spellings of each separate holding, preceded by the serial number of the entry; a manor (§ 90, 91) is printed in **thick type**, a less important holding in ordinary type.
- ii The assessment of the land for taxation is given in hides and virgates, and the equation 1 hide=4 virgates=120 acres has been accepted. Thus a half hide is shown in the table as 2 virgates, and an acre as 1/30 virgate.
- iii The figures show the number of team lands, an expression of the amount of arable land which was or might be made available. A team is generally accepted as having consisted of eight oxen; lesser numbers of oxen than the full team are expressed as fractions of a team; thus $\frac{3}{4}$ means three oxen, and $\frac{1}{2}$ means a half team (dimidia caruca) or four oxen.
- iv The names of the tenants in chief in 1086 are recorded in this column. Strictly speaking, under King William all T. in C.

held land only from him; some entries however expressly state that 'A. de B. holds from the King,' and the fact has then been recorded in the Table, but its significance, if any, is not yet clear (§ 75). The estates of all tenants in chief have been brought together in Tables IV and V.

- v contains the names of the subtenants in 1086. Their estates have been brought together in Table VII.
- vi records the tenants, apparently the sitting tenants, T.R.E. Its position enables their relation to the men in cols. v and vii to be seen readily. The named men are arranged alphabetically in Table VIII, the socmen are brought together in Table IX.
- vii shows the tenants of superior rank or the overlords of the lesser men, T.R.E. Their estates have been brought together alphabetically in Table VIII.
- viii-x relate to the 'demesne,' land retained for his own use or profit by the lord.
- viii shows the number of hides and virgates in demesne.
- ix shows the number of teams actually there.
- x the number of further teams for which arable land was available.
- xi-xiii deal with the villans.
- xi gives the number of villans on the holdings,
- xii the number of teams which the villans, bordars, and serfs, had there,
- xiii the number of further villan teams for which arable land was available.
- xiv shows the number of bordars on the holding.
- xv shows the number of serfs on the holding.
- xvi states the number of teams for which meadow was available.
- xvii records the number of swine which the woodland could support (pannage).
- xviii shows the number of water mills connected with the holding, and
- xix the yearly value of the profits from the mills (multure, etc.).
- xx-xxii The royal manors are not included in these totals.
- xx states the total value ('valet') of the holding from all sources in 1086.
- xxi gives the same valet when the land was received by the post-Conquest holder (quando receptum or Q.R.), generally taken as late in 1066, or in 1067.
- xxii shows the same 'valet' before the Conquest, generally taken as the first three quarters of 1066.
- xxiii This contains statements which do not appear in the tables, as well as passages of unusual form or doubtful meaning.

§ 19. Textual Notes to Table I.—

- Arlsey, 47, 97. Baring suggests that the fractions have been wrongly entered.
- Barford, Great, 157. The scribe wrote 'car,' underlined it for deletion, and wrote 'bid' above the line.
- Barford, Great, 158. Although the scribe, having written xl sol', deleted the 'sol' and substituted 'li', there can be no doubt that he meant 'sol'; 5½ hides cannot be worth 40 'li', and the Q.R. and T.R.E. valets show that shillings were meant.
- Battlesdon, 76. The hidage is given as 'viii'; apparently the scribe made a minim-stroke too many. Eight hides bring the total of the vill to 10 hides.
- Battlesdon, 264. The valet of 7li. is obviously a slip for 7s.
- Bedford Church, 44. This seems to be a repetition of part of Entry 1, under the estate of the Bishop.
- Broom, 189. This entry has been added in the margin: Broom was probably a manor, but is not so marked.
- Campton, 200. The hidage is uncertain; there seems to be a superfluous 'et'.
- Eversholt, 356. The socmen villan and valet under this entry refer to the triple holding in Eversholt Potgrave and Woburn.
- Leighton Church, 45. This seems to be a repetition of part of entry 3, under the estate of the Bishop.
- Meppershall, 281. The line of figures given in the Table seems to represent the sum for entries 281 and d, except for the hidage and team-lands.
- Millbrook, 187. More T.R.E. holders than Godwin are implied.
- Milton Ernest, 197. The enumeration of the villan ploughs is imperfect; the facts seem to have been as shown in the Table.
- Stanford, 370. "In the same vill holds Ordui and four parts of a virgate." The valet shows that some land has been omitted; in the Table Ordui is credited with 2½ v., a guess based on the team land, the valet, and the "five-hide unit."
- Staughton, 90. The Saxon holder was probably "a man of Godric the Sheriff."
- Staughton, 254. It is permissible to guess that the Q.R. valet is too high.
- Stratton, 242. The name of the Norman sub-tenant has been omitted. The scribe may have meant that there was one team on demesne, and a half-team short, but the phrasing is obscure.
- Sutton, 315. Entry in margin.
- Wymington, 367. The doubtful words 'de dō' have been taken as 'de dono [Regis]'.

§ 20. Schedule to Table I.—The schedule to Table I, which now follows here, contains a translation of entries which refer to lands now or formerly wholly or partly in Bedfordshire, but then assessed in other counties (terra forinseca); and to land then in another county but assessed in Bedfordshire (terra extrinseca). In order to complete the picture, the forinsec entries have been tabulated under their villans in Table I, and are there recognisable by being lettered and not num-

bered; their tenants appear at the end of Tables IV, VII, VIII. But parts of Stanwick, Rushden and Newton Bromswold (now in Northants) and of Edlesborough (now in Bucks) were intrinsec, were actually in the County of Bedfordshire for administrative purposes.

A. TERRA FORINSECA.

Hertfordshire.

- a. Land of Robert de Toden (Treunge Hundred).—In Bereworde Baldric holds of Robert five hides. There is land for three teams. On the demesne are two, and there can be a third. There are three villans with a priest and a certain frenchman with four bordars. Meadow for a team. Pasture for the township's cattle. Wood for a hundred swine. In all it is worth 40 shillings, when received 30 shillings, T.R.E. 60 shillings. This land Osulf son of Frane held, and could sell to whom he would [i, 138].
- b. Land of St. Paul of London (Danais Hundred).—The Canons of London hold Canesworde. For ten hides it answers. There is land for ten teams. On the demesne are five hides, and there are two teams and might be three more. There eight villans with three bordars have two teams, and there might be three more. There are three serfs. Pasture for [the township's] cattle; wood for a hundred swine, and from rent of wood two shillings. In all it is worth 70 shillings, when received 100 shillings, and the same T.R.E. This manor Lewin cilt held of King Edward [i, 136].
- c. The same Canons hold Cadendone. For ten hides it answers. There is land for ten teams. On demesne are four hides, and there is one team and might be three more. There twenty two villans have six teams. There are five bordars and two serfs. Pasture for [the township's] cattle. Wood for a hundred swine, and two shillings. In all it is worth a hundred and ten shillings, when received six pounds, and as much T.R.E. This manor Lewin held from King Edward. [i, 136].
- d. Land of Gilbert son of Salomon (Tredunge Hundred).—Gilbert son of Salomon holds Mapereshale. For three hides and a virgate it answers. There are three villans and four cottars. This land is assessed in Bedefordscyre with the rest of the land. This land Lewin thane of King Edward held [i, 142].
- e. Land of the King (Hiz Half Hundred).—King William holds Westone. For five hides it answers. There is land for fourteen teams. On demesne are two hides, and there are two teams. And sixteen villans with three borders have five teams and there might be five more. There are four serfs. Meadow for seven teams. Pasture for the township's cattle. Wood for four hundred swine, and three shillings. This manor Earl Harold held, and it lay and lies to Hiz [Hitchin]. But the assessment (wara) of this manor lay in Bedefordscire T.R.E. in the Hundred of Maneheue, and the manor is there and always was. And after the death of King Edward it did not acquit itself of the king's geld. [i, 132d].

- f. Land of Robert de Olgi.—In Polehangre Martel holds of Robert de Oilgi a half hide. There is land for a team, and it is there with two cottars and two serfs. Meadow for a team. Wood for two swine. It is and was worth 10 shillings, T.R.E. 20 shillings. This land Aluric man of Earl Wallef held and could sell [i, 137d].

Huntingdonshire.

- g. Land of the Bishop of Lincoln (Lestone Hundred).—In Partenhale Alwin had a virgate of land for geld. There is land for half a team. This land lies in Bedefordescire, but renders geld and service in Hontedunescire. This the King's servants claim for his use. Worth 5 shillings T.R.E. and now. William [? de Warenne] holds from Bishop R[emigius], and ploughs it with his own demesne. [i, 203 dorso].
- h. Of one virgate of land of Alwin Deule in Partenhale King Edward had the soke [i, 208].
- i. Land of William de Warene.—In Caissot Allie [had] three virgates of land for geld. There is land for six oxen. [It is] a soke. There are one socman and seven bordars and four acres of meadow and fifty acres of pasturable woodland. [i, 205 dorso].
- j. Land of William de Warene.—In Suineshefet are three hides and a half for geld. There is land for four teams. [It is] a soke. There are now one socman and seven villans and five bordars and sixteen acres of meadow. Pasturable woodland, one league long and four furlongs broad. It is worth 40 shillings. Eustace [the Sheriff] holds from William [i, 205 dorso].
- k. The men of the County witness that King Edward gave Swineshefet, soke and sake, to Earl Siward. And Earl Harold held it thus, save that they paid geld in the hundred and in the army marched with them. [i, 208].
- l. Land of Eustace the Sheriff. (Kenebaltune Hundred).—In Swineshefet had Furfa a half hide for geld. There is land for a half team, with sake and soke. There is now one villan, and three acres of meadow. Pasturable wood one league in length and one furlong in breadth. It was worth 15 shillings, T.R.E., now 6 shillings. Ralf holds it from Eustace [i, 206].
- m. From Furfa's land the soke was the King's [i, 208].
- n. Land of the King's Thanes. (Delestune Hundred).—In Caissot had Alwin one virgate of land for geld with sake and soke. There is land for two oxen. It lies in Bedefordescira but pays geld in Hunted[one]scire. The same man holds now from the King, and has there one villan with two oxen in the team. It was worth 16 pence T.R.E., now likewise [i, 207d].
- o. Land of Rannulf. (Toleslund Hundred).—In Evretune Ingewar had seven hides for geld. There is land for eighteen teams. There are now in demesne two teams, and nineteen villans and two bordars having nine teams.

There is a priest and a church and fifteen acres of meadow and forty acres of underwood. T.R.E. it was worth 10 li. Rannulf brother of Ilger holds it from the King. [i, 207].

Northamptonshire.

Land of William Peverel.—To this manor [Higham Ferrars] belong these members:

- p. In Farnedis are three virgates of soke-land. There is land for one team, which two socmen have there [i, 225d].
- q. In Potintone is a half hide of soke-land. There are four villans with one team [i, 225d].

B. TERRA EXTRINSECA.

Huntingdonshire.

- r. The County bears witness that the third part of a half hide which lies in Estone^a and pays geld in Bedefordscire belongs to Spalduic a manor of the Abbot of Ely, and thus the Abbot held it T.R.E., and for five years after the coming of King William. This land Eustace reft by force from the church, and keeps it [i, 208].

GUIDE TO TABLE II.

§ 21. *Tabulation of the Hundreds.*—The headings of the columns in Table II. are identical with those of Table I., except (a) for the addition of columns showing the number of socmen T.R.E., and giving the percentages which the Valets of 1086 and Q.R. bear to the Valet of King Edward's day; and (b) for the omission of the holders and subtenants of 1086 and 1066, and of the annual value of the mills, since neither of these seemed to bear on the constitution of the Hundred.

The figures given for each vill are the sums of those for the separate holdings in Table I; the totals below form a summary of the statistics of the Hundred. For the sake of completeness, similar tables have been furnished for forinsec extrinsec and extracentenal lands (for these terms see § 20, 41).

GUIDE TO TABLE III.

§ 22. *Tabulation of the Shire.*—In this Table the headings of the columns are the same as those of Table II, except for the omission of the Valet percentages. By addition of the totals got from Table II, is obtained the line marked 'Total A,' which summarises the united Hundreds and Half Hundreds. The addition to this of the extracentenal and extrinsec land in the line marked 'Total B,' gives a complete view of the composition of the D.B. County. But, for comparison with later statistics, the forinsec land, which has no place in the D.B. county, should be added; this has been done so far as seemed safe, and yields the line marked 'Total C.'

Note. In the line of extracentenal land and col. xvi, the Bishop of Lincoln's 9 li. appears in order to balance with Table VI, col. x. Owing to the unknown value of the farm of the Royal Manors, their value cannot be given.

GUIDE TO TABLE IV.

§ 23. *Tabulation of Estates of Tenants in Chief.*—This table is intended (a) to show the actual order of the entries in D.B., and the number of the folio on which

as forinsec land.

a. It seems possible that this may be Staughton co. Beds., not Easton co. Hunts., as has been hitherto supposed; in that case it would be classed

each occurs, arranged according to the estates of the various Tenants in Chief; (b) to give some idea of what such an estate actually implied, in men kind and money.

A. the various classes of men dependent on the Tenant in Chief are brought together in three columns:

(ii) Undertenants, apparently of that class which appears later as Lords of Manors. Although these men often held more than one manor, they would owe military service in respect of each separately; they should therefore be reckoned in each case for military service, though not for statistics of population.

(iii) Undertenants of less importance—soccmen, soldiers, and small-holders. It is not always possible sharply to distinguish between this class and the former.

(iv) Villans, bordars, and serfs.

B. The total land over which the T. in C. had ultimate control, and for the assessment on which he seems to have been accountable to the King, his estate or fief, is expressed both by the hidage (v), and by the number of teams for which there is land (vi).

C. The land which the T. in C. retained for his own use, known as his demesne, is shown by the carucates (vii) or hides (viii) at which it is assessed; the number of teams on the demesne is also given (ix).

D. In the case of T. in C., but not of undertenants, the other sources of revenue in kind or in money, follow:—the number of mills (x) with their money value (xi) and their due of eels (xii); the wood, expressed by the number of swine for which there was pannage (xiii), and its dues in money (xiv); the meadow, expressed by the number of teams (xv), and its dues in money (xvi). Next is shown the value of each holding at the moment (xvii), and the percentage ratio which it bears to the Q.R. Valet or value of the holding when received (xviii).

E. The antecessor, the T.R.E. holder, is named in the last column (xix).

A few explanatory notes may be added:—

Bedford 1. For details see Table I, col. xxiii. The valet of the church is shown under 44.

Leighton 2, Luton 4, Houghton Regis 6.—The value of the Royal farms paid in kind, cannot safely be expressed in money, and therefore no valet is given. For details of these manors, see Table I, col. xxiii. The valet of Leighton Church is entered under 45.

Milton Ernest 99a.—This most ambiguous entry has been tabled on the suppositions that (1) it formed part of the land of Miles Crispin, (2) it still had two socmen on it, (3) it was a separate holding from the Clapham manor.

Southill 246.—A half hide of wood.

Southill 262.—A half hide of wood.

Meppershall, 281.—The hidage and team lands returned under Hertfordshire (Meppershall d) are here omitted; but the other details are included, for it is not safe to separate them.

When the D.B. formula runs "There is land for . . . teams and they are there"; their figure is included in parentheses (), because in some cases villan teams may have been (though they probably have not been) included in the number stated.

§ 24. Tenants in Chief as Undertenants.—

A point on which it is impossible to be certain is the extent to which T. in C. were also undertenants of other T. in C. for convenience of husbandry. In some cases such undertenancy is unmistakable, because the full name is given; for example, Eudo Dapifer in Wyboston 55. Judged by the topographical position of their other holdings, it seems probable that in this way several T. in C. appear as undertenants only by their christen-names, and an attempt will be made later on to identify some of them (§ 30). In separating columns ii and iii some regard has been paid to this point in order not to swell unduly the column of small-holders, etc.; but both these columns are only of the roughest kind of approximation; and in any case they represent tenancies, not individuals.

§ 25. Rubricated Headings to the Fiefs.—The name of the T. in C., and his number in the list of such tenants on fo. 209, are rubricated at the head of each fief or estate.

In two cases only does any difficulty appear. (a) We have on fo. 216 "William" as the holder of 2 h. in Farndish 268, a blank being left for his surname. It seems likely that William Peverel was intended. Part of Farndish (p. in Table I) was a membrum of his manor of Hingham Ferrars; and he was a sufficiently important person to have been entered simply as 'William' in the returns from the Hundred, to the confusion of the Norman scribe unacquainted with the local magnates of the next county.

(b) On fo. 218, under the rubric of "Land of the Burgesses of Bedford," are entered four men who are described either as "of Bedford" or as "burgess"; they are clear enough. After these entries comes a blank

space for a missing rubric, followed by five entries, 351-355 of Table III, these are succeeded on fo. 218 d by "The Land of the King's Reeves and Almsmen", properly rubricated. The five tenants without a rubric are fairly obviously not Burgesses, for their tiny holdings lie far from Bedford, between Hinwick in the north and Arlesey in the south. Of the first of these we are told definitely that King William granted the land in alms, of the next three that they or their fathers before them held the same land T.R.E., and that the fifth is or was an inferior officer of the King. All these entries are of precisely the same type as those of the Reeves and Almsmen, who follow them; and the natural inference is that they deal with the same kind of folk. Since for the Reeves and Almsmen an alternative title, the "King's Service" (ministerium Regis) has been used in the Tables, these unrubricated five have been entered as "King's Service" in Tables IV and V, but fused with Reeves and Almsmen in Table VI.

§ 26. Miscellaneous profits.—The following have not been included in Table IV, among sources of revenue to T. in C.

Abbot of Ramsey	Iron for [?a] plough [from the woodland]	Cranfield 52.
Eudo dapifer	Two acres of vineyard.	Faton Socon 103.
Eudo dapifer	Pasture for the cattle of the vill.	Sandy 108.
Hugh de Beauchamp.	A park of woodland beasts.	Stagsden 125.
Nigel d'Albini	A ram and a load of oats from the wood.	Harlingdon 183.
Nigel d'Albini	Iron for [?a] plough [from the wood]	Westcotts 191.
Walter Fleming	From pasture 6s. and there is yet pasture for 300 sheep.	Langford 245.
Walter Fleming	From ducs of the wood ten rams yearly.	Segenho 249.
Osbert piscator	A fish stew.	Sharnbrook 275.
Ralf de Insula	5s. from hay.	Biggleswade 280.
Countess Judith	From pasture 2s.	Kempston 298.
Countess Judith	Pasture for the cattle of the vill.	Potton 313.

GUIDE TO TABLE V.

§ 27. Synthesis of the Estates of Tenants in Chief.—The figures in this table are the sums of the separate holdings in Table IV, and show roughly what each man had in the county. Additional columns show (xviii) the amount due from his fief for Dancgeld at 2 shillings on the hide, which was at the rate usually demanded; (xix) the total value of all lands which he retained in his demesne, if any were so retained; (xx) the percentage ratio which their value bore to the Q.R. valet, as an index of the efficiency of his administration or husbandry.

GUIDE TO TABLE VI.

§ 28. Classified Summary of Primary Tenancies, 1086.—In this table the main features of the distribution of the men lands and value of the County, among the primary classes of tenants, have been brought out by summing the corresponding columns of Tables IV or V; and percentages of the totals have been calculated when the figures were fairly certain. Twenty-six carucates of Baronial land escaped taxation and are not included in these totals.

Of Bedford Town only a hide was assessed for geld. Its valet is included under Church Land (Bedford 44). The only valet given here for Royal lands is that of Biscot, this vill being in a Hundred and the valet therefore needed to make up to the Total B. of Table III, col. xvi. Totternhoe appears to have contained a No-Rent party who declined to pay geld for their hides (Totternhoe 233). Their land has to be reckoned here in order to bring the hidage (nearly) up to that of Total B of Table III, col. ii. There is a discrepancy between tables III and VI of 10a. on the total hidage, and of half a team on the total team lands. To correct these might take weeks of work, and, as the errors are only microscopic percentages, they are negligible for our purposes.

GUIDE TO TABLE VII.

§ 29. **Tabulation of Sub-tenancies, 1086.**—The Undertenants, set in alphabetical order under their font-names, have been treated similarly to the T. in C. in Table IV, with the addition of a column (xix) for Danegeld at 6s. on the hide (the rate in 1089), and the substitution of their overlord (or other primary estate) for the antecessor in the last column. Their 'manorial' profits—demesne, mill, wood, etc.—which did not appear in the estates of the overlords in Tables IV-VI, are here shown under the name of the tenant who appears to have actually enjoyed them.

Those who still held the same land as before the Conquest are marked "(T.R.E.)" Those who held jointly with another tenant are marked "(jointly)." When the undertenant has underlet his holding to another, he is marked "(mesne);" the sources of manorial profit are not shown under his name, but under that of the ultimate tenant or rear vassal, who is marked "(rear)."

When the entry runs "There is land for . . . teams and they are there," these teams appear under the demesne in parentheses (. . .).

§ 30. **Multiple holdings of Undertenants.**—Names which are believed to represent the same man are bracketed together. In many instances their identity is obvious, both font-name and surname being recorded in full; in other cases only a font-name is given.

Reference has already been made to the occurrence, among Undertenants, of T. in C., who held outlying lands of other estates for convenience of husbandry. Thus Eudo dapifer held from the Abbot of Ramsey, in Wyboston 55 and Little Barford 56, lands which were convenient to his own, but remote from the demesne manors of Ramsey. The Abbot of St. Edmund held a half hide from Countess Judith in Blunham 328, which he could farm with his own demesne of Blunham 50, but was separated from her demesne of Potton by the whole breadth of Sandy. Miles Crispin held from Countess Judith a hide in Oakley 300, which could be worked from his demesne manor in Clapham 99 more easily than from her nearest demesne manor of Kempston, 208. It is not so apparent why Ranulf brother of Ilger, who only held Pavenham 230 in chief in Bedfordshire, should have farmed Countess Judith's land at Everton 323, until we find that he held in chief the Huntingdonshire portion of Everton also (D.B. Hunts., fo. 207, Everton 134).

Besides these clear cases, there is a probability that other T. in C. are concealed among Undertenants owing to the omission of their surname. Nor is the omission surprising; if Countess Judith held a small outlying piece of land, in a district where she had nothing else but Hugh de Beauchamp had a big demesne, she might well let it to him at farm; and, in making out his return for the Vill or Hundred, the scribe who had already entered Hugh de Beauchamp as the big T. in C. there, would merely write that 'Hugh' held as undertenant from the Countess. It is not to be supposed that such undertenancies, of which there seem to be several, were in the nature of solemn 'subinfeudations', to appear later in the lists 'de veteri feffamento'; they were in most cases merely temporary arrangements in the interest of a more economic agriculture, but some undoubtedly persisted, resulting in the transference of land from one Honour to another.

Among the smaller men who were purely undertenants, there are also cases where more than one entry appears to refer to the same man. Here the nearness to each other of the different holdings, and the fact of a common overlord, are the chief arguments for the use of the bracket; but in some cases the later association of the tenant's descendants with the lands in question has been also available. A few notes on individual cases follow.

Alic. The three holdings under this name are in contiguous manors.

Alwin. The four holdings in Sutton probably represent one undertenant.

Alwin reeve with three holdings may represent a second Alwin.

Alwin in Clifton or Beeston may be identical with either of these. It is most unlikely that, if the bearers of this name were numerous separate persons, they should all be confined to a small area in the extreme eastern side of the county.

Bernard. The lands in the neighbouring vills of Astwick and Henlow, held from the linked estates of Azelina Taillebois and Hugh de Beauchamp, were probably in the hand of one undertenant. It is probable that he was identical with Bernard in Arlesey, which touches both Astwick and Henlow.

Gilbert, who held in Felmersham from Countess Judith, is undoubtedly Gilbert son of Salomon. The two parts of his holding—the one by serjeanty as Larderer, the other from the Honour of Huntingdon—remain distinct

for a long time. Compare B.H.R.S., vi, 34, no. 140, where David Earl of Huntingdon represents the Honour in 1205.

Hugh. Eighteen holdings of undertenants are registered in this name which, though common, was not so disproportionately predominant among the Normans.

When the eighteen Hughs are listed, it is sufficiently remarkable that they are all found to be undertenants of only three estates—William Spech, Countess Judith, and the linked estates of the Wahull family (Walter Fleming, and Walter brother of Seier his supposed uncle). If there were eighteen separate Hugh undertenants, it is most improbable that they should be confined to three estates; the point is fairly obvious if the Ralf Robert and Roger undertenants in the same list are considered. Maps II and III should be consulted, if it be desired to grasp the evidence cited below.

In Streatley 211, Hugh holds 20 acres from William Spech. Hugh de Beauchamp had land there, but not in demesne. There is no evidence, therefore, of identity.

In Stanford 220, Hugh holds 1h. ov. from William Spech. Hugh de Beauchamp had 1h. 6lv. there in demesne (Stanford 130), and probably 1h. in Southill from Countess Judith (Southill 324), as well as his demesne of 2h. 1v. there (Southill 129); he may well have farmed William Spech's hide.

In Houghton Conquest 295, Hugh holds 0h. 2v. from the Countess. Hugh de Beauchamp had 5h. ov. there in demesne (Houghton Conquest 135).

In Bolnhurst 299, Hugh holds 0h. 2v. from the Countess, who had no demesne anywhere near. Hugh de Beauchamp had no demesne or other land in Bolnhurst, but in Keysoe 122 the next village, 4h. 3v. were of his demesne. In the Testa de Nevill, land in Bolnhurst is held of the Honour of Bedford, so that Hugh or his successors obtained a permanent title in fee.

In Bromham 302, Hugh holds 2h. ov., and in Stagsden 303, he holds 1h. ov., from the Countess. In Stagsden 125, Hugh de Beauchamp held 1h. in demesne, from which the other two could be worked.

In Southill 324, Hugh holds 1h. ov. from the Countess, who had no land near. Hugh de Beauchamp held 2h. 1v. in demesne (Southill 129).

In Cardington 326, Hugh holds 3h. 1lv., and in the adjacent Cople 327 he holds 0h. 1v. from the Countess. Hugh de Beauchamp held in demesne 6h. 2lv. in Cardington 131, from which both the other holdings could be worked.

In Radwell 305, Hugh holds 2h. 2lv., and in Sharnbrook 307, 0h. 3v. from the Countess. Hugh de Beauchamp had no land in demesne in the neighbourhood, and no land at all in Radwell; but in the Testa de Nevill lands in Radwell are held of the Honour of Bedford.

In Potton 309 Hugh holds 15 acres from the Countess. As this was her chief demesne manor, this Hugh is almost certainly not Hugh de Beauchamp, but probably a retainer of the Countess.

When we turn to the six Hugh undertenants of the Wahull family, we find another possibility of reducing their number. Walter Fleming's lands were in three widely separate sections; one group in Willey Hundred—Odell or Wahull, Podington, Wynington, Milton Ernest, Thurlough, and Turvey; a second group in the extreme east of the county—Sitatten, Holme, Astwick, Langford, Southill, and Henlow; and lastly one outlying manor at Totternhoe. In the district of the first group we find as a Tenant in Chief one Hugh Fleming, possibly a brother and certainly a compatriot and adherent of Walter Fleming; and I suggest that he was the Hugh who held as undertenant in Turvey 235, Podington 237, and Thurlough 240. If, as seems likely he was also the Hugh undertenant in Astwick 244 and Henlow 248, he may have been managing the demesne manor of Langford; and in this connection it is interesting and significant that while Hugh Fleming's own demesnes had appreciated by 50 per cent. above the Q.R. value, and while Odell, the future head of Walter Fleming's barony had depreciated by 38 per cent., Langford on the other hand had appreciated by 55 per cent.

He may also well have been the Hugh who held 4h. 0v. from Walter brother of Seier (Walter Fleming's supposed uncle) in Silsoe 250; and here again the comparative values support the suggestion, for Walter's sole demesne manor of Segenho 249 had depreciated by 40 per cent., while Silsoe in Hugh's hands had appreciated by 60 per cent. Of two virgates of this land, his men claim that Hugh holds them 'from the King'; he is therefore probably a tenant in chief.

If the foregoing surmises are correct, we are left with four Hughs, who are shown as such in this Table. Both Dr. Morris (B.H.R.S., i, 201, 202; v, 2, 3) and writers in V.C.H. Beds. have to some extent anticipated these suggestions, but approached the matter from another point of view.

Osbert de Broilg. Osbern and Osbert were treated as the same name by the scribe of the Beds. D.B. Thus under the general heading of Osbern son of Richard, he is named twice as Osbert and once as Osbern.

Osbert. A triple mention of this bare name has been assigned to one man on the strength of the common overlord.

Pirot. The four entries probably refer to the same man, as the later family of that name held 'Perot's Manor' in Beeston, in Wyboston, and in Fulloxhill and Harlington; the two latter touch Streatley and were also d'Albini land.

Ralf Passaquam. A second Ralf is bracketed with him, because his descendants later held in Biddenham under the Norman name Passelewe (Passe l' eau).

Walter Monachus or **Le Moyne** left a family which held in Wardon, Chicksand, and Beeston in Northill; the first three Walters are therefore bracketed. The common overlord of Northill and Goldington points rather to the fourth Walter being the same man.

Walter [? Fleming]. These holdings are assigned to him from their nearness to his chief manor of Odell, while William Spech had no demesne within many miles. The point of Walter Fleming's agricultural inefficiency, already raised, crops up again; as one of these holdings had only maintained, the other had fallen to 20 per cent., of the Q.R. value.

§ 31. *Miscellaneous profits.*—The following have not been included in Table VII among sources of revenue to Undertenants.

Burnard A market of 10s. Arlesey 97.
 Erfast From pasture 10d. ... Henlow 207.
 William
 camerarius.. From the church 20s. Luton 5.

GUIDE TO TABLE VIII.

§ 32. *Tabulation of Saxon Estates (socmen omitted).*—This Table has been prepared in order to shew all named pre-Conquest holders of lands; the unnamed socmen form the subject of Table IX. Though some were doubtless alien by origin, immigrants in the time of King Edward or even of his predecessors, we may for convenience call them Saxons; they were Saxons by domicile, if not by blood. Entries believed to refer to the same man are bracketed as in previous tables. As the table is intended ultimately for comparison of classes of men before and after the Conquest, the references to a thane's 'men' are included in his bracket, although appearing also in this list under their own names. The D.B. hidage, which was probably also their hidage, is shown in each case, together with the post-Conquest successor.

GUIDE TO TABLE IX.

§ 33. *Soc Land, 1066 and 1086.*—This table includes all records of nameless socmen, arranged in alphabetical order of the villas (col. ii) for ready reference. The numbers in column i, and in the total, give the numbers of soclands (lands owing soke), not at all necessarily the number of separate persons who owed soke for those lands (§ 139). The hidage with which they are debited in D.B. fills column iii; the few socmen of 1086 appear in column iv; when these are said to be the same men as before the Conquest they are marked by an asterisk*. In column v are any details about them which D.B. supplies, and, in the case of those who could not give or sell their land, a reference to § 138 where this point is discussed.

This Table is assuredly incomplete: of the smaller named men in Table VIII, it is probable that many, it is implied that several, were really socmen, though they are not specifically described as such.

GUIDE TO TABLE X.

§ 34. *Thane Land, 1066.*—The Thanages of lower rank than King's Thanages are few in 1066, and, unlike the case in Huntingdonshire, do not appear here at all in 1086. The percentage which they held of the hidage of the vill is shown in column iv.

GUIDE TO TABLE XI.

§ 35. *Summary of tenancies, 1066.*—This has been prepared for comparison with columns vi and vii of Table VI, which shows the distribution of land at the date of D.B.

GUIDE TO TABLE XII.

§ 36. *Water Mills arranged by River Systems.*—The drainage of this County (see Map VII) is all to the Wash, except in the S.E. corner where it falls to the River Thames by way of the Lea River (VI); the high ground of Streatley Sundon and Houghton Regis forms the watershed between the two systems. The River Ousel (I), rising in the S.W. corner of Bedfordshire, soon flows northward through Buckinghamshire, receiving in that county a considerable tributary (I A) which rises in Woburn. The River Ouse (II), joined by the Ousel at Newport Pagnel, enters Bedfordshire at Turvey, and, after confluence with the River Ivel (III) at Tempsford, leaves it at Eaton Socon, where it is joined by the Till Brook (IV)*. The River Ivel (III), rising at Baldock, enters the county at Stotfold; before confluence with the Ouse it receives two important streams,—the River Hiz (III A) from Hitchin, and the Shefford Brook (III B) drawn from numerous sources. In the north of the county Podington Brook flows into the River Nene, and thus also reaches the Wash. At Dunton and Eyworth the county boundary is formed by the River Rhee (V), later called the Cam, which joins the Ouse near Ely.

In Table XII the mills have been arranged hydrographically, by streams from the source downwards. A few mills not mentioned in D.B., but recognisable on the six-inch Ordnance Survey have been added to the list for greater completeness; in their case columns iii and iv are blank. In column v, the letter W implies that a mill is, or was fairly lately, still at work, as shown by the Survey; some evidence of the existence of old mills from placenames is set in 'inverted commas'; a few modern names of mills are given. More detailed notes on some mills will be found in § 184.

a. Also known as the Kym. Antiquaries of the Monkbarns type invented river names from the villages on their banks; the 'Kym' is particularly funny, as Kimbolton (Chenebaltone) means Cynebal'd's Town.

The original name of this stream is perhaps the Heile or Haile (B.H.R.S., i, 128) and cognate derivative to Ivel, for Yielden (Gieueeldene) is on its early stream. See Skeat: Place Names of Bedfordshire, 12.

PART II: SYNTHETICAL.

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TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMESNE			VILLANS		
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams	
								there	short		there	short
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
AMPTHILL.												
188. Ammetelle.	5 0	8	Nigel de Alhini.	Nigel de Wast.	7 socmen.	...	...	0	2	0	6	4 2
ARLESEY.												
47. Alrichesel.	8 0 1/2	8	Bishop of Durham.	...	...	Abb. of Waltham.	0	3	0	8	4	1
97. Alricheseie.*	6 0 1/2	6	William de Ow.	Burnard.	...	Alestan de Boscunhe.	0	1	0	13	5	0
208. Alricheseia.	0 3 1/2	1	Nigel d'Albini.	Erfast.	(3h) 1 socman, m. of	Alestan.	0	1	0	0	0	0
355. Alricesei.	0 0 1/2		The King.	Ulsi, Kg's. prehendary.	2 socmen.	...	...	0	1	0	0	0
ASPLEY GUISE.												
138. Aspelcia.	10 0	12	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Acard de Ivri.	Leveva, commd. to	Earl Waltheof.	0	2	1	16	8	1
ASTWICK.												
166. Estuniche.	1 1	2 1/2	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Bernard.	6 socmen	...	...	0	1	0	2	2 1/2 0
167. Estuniche.	0 2	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Wenelinc.	[? socmen].	...	...	0	1	0	0	0
168. Estuniche.	0 2	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Ledmar.	same Ledmar, m. of	Earl Tosti.	0	1	0	0	0	0
244. Estuniche.	0 1	1	Walter Fleming.	Hugh.	Lewin, thane of	King Edward.	0	1	0	0	0	0
HARFORD, GREAT.												
157. Bereforde.	3 0	4	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Rualon.	3 socmen, m. of	King Edward.	0	3	0	3	1	0
138. Bereforde.	5 2 1/2	11	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Wimund de Taissel.	3 socmen.	...	...	0	5	0	16	6 0
160. Bereforde.	1 2	2	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Anschetil priest.	2 socmen.	...	...	0	1	0	1	0
161. Bereforde.	1 3 1/2	3	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Ietbaud.	3 socmen.	...	...	0	2	0	1	1 0
HARFORD, LITTLE.												
56. Bereforde.	5 0	5	Abb. Ramsey.	{ Osbern under } { Eudo dapifer. }	...	Abb. Ramsey.	0	1	0	9	4	0
274. Bereforde.	3 0	3	The King.	Osbern, s. of Walter.	Ulmar, thane of	King Edward.	0	2	0	4	1	0
BARTON.												
53. Bertone.*	11 0	12	Abb. Ramsey.	...	...	Abb. Ramsey.	3.0	2	1	20	9	0
BARWORTH.												
a. Bereworde.	5 0	3	Robert de Todeni.	Baldric.	...	Osulf, s. of Frane.	0	2	1	3*	0	0
BATLESODON.												
76. Badesledone.	[8 0]	8	Walter Giffard.	Richard Talehot.	7 socmen.	...	...	0	2	1	7	5 0
264. Badesledone.	0 2	1 1/2	William Chamberlain.	Robert.	...	Morcar priest.	0	0	0	0	0	0
334. Badesledone.	1 2	1 1/2	The King.	Azelina Taillebos.	Anschil & Alwin, socmen	...	...	0	1	1/2	2	0 0
BEDFORD.												
1. Bedeford.*	1 0		Bp. of Lincoln.	...	...	St. Paul, Bedford.						
44. Bedeford Ch.			Bp. of Lincoln.									
BEESTON.												
114. Bistone.*	3 0	3	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	Rolland after Norman.	...	Norman.	0	2	0	4	1	0
115. Bistone.*	4 0	4	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	Norman.	...	Norman.	0	1	0	4	3	0
116. Bistone.	1 0	1	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	Pirot.	Ravan, man of	Ulmar of Etone.	0	1	0	0	0	0
222. Bistone.	0 3 1/2	1	William Spech.	...	Lewin Cilt, thane of	The King.	0	1	1/2	0	0	0
279. Bistone.*	0 2	1	The King.	Turstin chamberlain.	Godwin, man of	Earl Tosti.	0	0	0	0	0	0
353. Bistone.	0 3	1	The King.	Godmund.	same Godmund.	...	...	0	1	0	0	0
371. Bistone*	0 1 1/2	1 1/2	[The King.]	Alwin [reeve.]	Dot.	...	...	0	0	0	0	0
BIDDENHAM.												
39. Bideham.	1 1	1	Bp. of Lincoln.	Ernuin priest.	Leuric,* man of	Bp. of Lincoln.	0	1	0	1	0	0
48. Bidenham.*	0 2	1 1/2	Abb. St. Edmund.	Ordui of Bedford.	Ulmar, priest of	King Edward.	0	1	0	0	0	0
65. Bideham.*	0 3	1	The King.	St. Paul, Bedford.	Leviet, priest.	King Edward.	0	1	0	1	0	0
66. Bideham.*	0 1	1	[The King.]	St. Paul, Bedford.	Marwen.	? The King.	0	1	0	0	0	0
149. Bideham.	1 0	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Serlo de Ros.	Alsi of Bromham, m. of	Queen Edith	0	1	0	0	0	0
212. Bideham.*	3 2 1/2	4	William Spech.	Ralf and Serlo de Ros.	11 socmen.	...	...	0	2	0	6	2 0
347. Bideham.	0 1	1	The King.	Osgar of Bedford.	same Osgar.	...	...	0	1	0	0	0
348. Bideham.*	1 0 1/2	1	The King.	Godwin of Bedford.	same Godwin, 1/2 h.	...	...	0	1	0	0	0
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

13

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	value s. d.	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
AMPTHILL.										
188. Ammetelle.	2	1	6	300	0	0.0	4.0	2.0	4.0	
ARLESEY.										
47. Alrichesel.	5	2	3	0	2	26.8	7.0	7.0	8.0	
97. Alricheseie.*	10	0	0	0	1	10.0	7.0	7.0	7.0	Arlesey, 97. * There is a market of 10 shillings.
ALRICHESEA.										
108. Alricheseia.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.17	0.17	1.0	
ALRICESI.										
155. Alricesi.										
ASPLEY GUISE.										
138. Aspleia.	4	5	10	50	1	10.0	8.0	5.0	10.0	
ASTWICK.										
166. Estaulche.	3	0	1	0	0	0.0	1.0	0.10	0.10	
167. Estaulche.	3	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	1.0	
168. Estaulche.	3	0	0	0	1	9.4	1.0	1.0	1.0	
244. Estaulche.	1	0	0	0	1	13.0	0.16	0.16	0.16	
BARFORD, GREAT.										
157. Bereforde.	5	3	2	0	1	22.0*	3.0	1.10	3.0	Barford, Great, 157. * And 80 eels.
158. Bereforde.	6	1	1	0	0	0.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	
160. Bereforde.	6	3	1	0	1	7.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	
161. Bereforde.	8	1	1	0	0	6.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	
BARFORD, LITTLE.										
56. Bereforde.	4	3	2	0	1	12.0*	4.0	3.0	4.0	Barford, Little, 56. * And 125 eels.
BARTON.										
271. Bereforde.	2	5	1	0	0	0.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	
53. Bertone.*	7	6	6	200	1	2.0	10.0	10.0	12.0	Barton, 53. * With this manor the Abbot claims 12 acres of meadow against Nigel d'Albin and Walter Fleming, which lay to it T.R.E. But John de Roches disseised him unjustly, and to this the Hundred witnesses.
BARWORTH.										
a. Bereworde.	4	0	1†	100	0	0.0	2.0	1.10	3.0	Barworth, a. * Three villans, with a priest and a certain frenchman. † Pasture for the cattle of the vill.
BATTLESDON.										
76. Badesledone.	10	0	8	0	0	0.0	5.0	5.0	8.0	
264. Badesledone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	[0.7]	
334. Badesledone.	1	0	1	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	
BEDFORD.										
1. Bedeford.*							5.0			Bedford, 1. * Bedeford answered for a Half Hundred T.R.E., and still does so for the forces and ships. The land of this vill was never hidated, nor is so now, beyond one hide which belonged to (sacut in) the Church of St. Paul in alms T.R.E. and still rightly belongs. But Remigius the Bishop withdrew it from the alms of the Church of St. Paul, unjustly as men say; and now holds it and whatever belongs to it. It is worth 100 shillings.
44. Bedeford Ch.							5.0			
BEESTON.										
114. Bistone.*	2	1	3	0	0	0.0	1.10	1.0	2.0	Beeston, 114, 115. * Now Eudo holds [these two] from the King, as his men say, but [they] are not of the fee of Lisois.
115. Bistone.*	0	2	4	0	1	30.0	2.0	2.0	2.10	
116. Bistone.	1	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	1.0	
222. Bistone.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	
279. Bistone.*	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.0	0.10	1.0	Beeston, 279. * This land is waste, but when Turstin received it, was worth 10 shillings.
353. Bistone.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	
371. Bistone.*	2	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.10	Beeston, 371. * This land was added to the King's service (ministerium), in which it was not T.R.E.; but Dot [? Soc'] who held it and could give and sell it.
BIDDENHAM.										
39. Bideham.	0	0	1	0	1	25.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	Biddenham, 39.
48. Biddenham.*	0	2	1	0	0	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	Biddenham, 48. * Leuric could not give or sell without leave. * Ordui, when he was Reeve of the Burgh, deprived [Ulmar] of this land for a certain forfeiture, and now says that he holds it of the Abbot of St. Edmond, but the men of the Hundred say that (quia) he occupied it wrongfully.
65. Bideham.*	1	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	Biddenham, 65. * Leviet priest held this land in alms from King Edward and afterwards from King William. When dying, he granted to the church of St. Paul 1 virgate of this land. But Ralf Tallgebosc added the other two virgates to the same church in alms.
66. Bideham.*	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	Biddenham, 66. * Ralf Tallebosc added this to the church of St. Paul in alms.
149. Bideham.	1	1	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	Biddenham, 149. * William says that he has this land in exchange for Tottingedone.
347. Bideham.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	
348. Bideham.*	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	Biddenham, 348. * The same man who now holds it held half a hide of this land T.R.E., which he could give to whom he would. But the other half hide and quarter virgate he bought after King William came into England, but did service neither to the King nor to anyone therefor, nor has he a deliverer for it. Against the same man William Spech claims one virgate and a quarter, which was delivered to him and afterward he lost it.
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMISENE			VILLANS			
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams		
								there	short		there	short	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	
349. Bideham.*	1 0½	1	The King.	Ordwi of Bedford	same Ordwi, 2½ v.	...	...	0	1	0	2	0	0
350. Bideham.	0 0½	½	The King.	Ulmar of Bedford.	same Ulmar.	...	...	0	[1]	0	0	0	0
BIGGLESWADE. 289. Pichelesnuade.	10 0	10	Ralf de Insula.	...	...	Archbp. Stigand.	5.2	3	0	7	7	0	0
BISCOT. 9. Bissopescofte.*	5 0	5	The King.	...	Edwin, man of	Asgar staller.	0	2	0	10	3	0	0
BLETSOE. 148. Blecheshou. 301. Blacheshou.	2 2 2 2	4 4	Hugh de Beauchamp. Countess Judith.	Osbert de Broilg. Osbern.	3 socmen (3 v.) Leveva, m. of	Aschil. King Edward.	0 0	1 1	0 0	7 6	3 3	0 0	0
BLUNHAM. 50. Blunham. 113. Blunham. 328. Blunham.	4 1 0 1 0 2	4 ½ 1	The King. Eudo, s. of Hubert. Countess Judith.	Abb. St. Edmund. Domnic. Abb. St. Edmund.	4 socmen. 4 socmen. A man of	... ... King Edward.	2.3 0 0	2 ½ 1	0 0 0	8 0 0	2 0 0	0 0 0	0
BOINHURST. 13. Bolehestre. 14. Bolehestre. 26. Bulehestre.* 62. Bolehestre.*	0 2 0 2 0 3 2 1	1 1 ½ 5	Bp. Bayeux. Bp. Bayeux. Bp. Coutances. Abb. Thorney.	Tovi priest. 2 soc men.	Azor, man of Same 2 socmen. Gudmund, m. of Alfreda, from	Bored. ... King Edward. King Edward.	0 0 0 2.1†	1 1 ½ 1	0 0 0 0	1 0 1 9	0 0 0 5	0 0 0 0	0
299. Bolehestre. BROMHAM. 68. Bruncham. 150. Bruncham. 302. Bruncham.	0 2 1 2 6 0 2 0	1 ½ 6 2	Countess Judith. Cnunt Eustace. Hugh de Beauchamp. Countess Judith.	Hugh. Ernulf de Arde. Serto de Ros. Hugh.	Almar, thane of Alwold & Leuric, m. of Alst, man of Godwin, man of	King Edward. King Edward. Queen Edith. Earl Harold.	0 0 0 0	1 ½ 2 2	0 1 0 0	0 0 10 5	0 0 4 0	0 0 0 0	0
378. Bruncham. BROOM. 189. Brume. CADDINGTON. 64. Cadendone.*	0 1½ 5 0 5 0	1 5 6	[The King.] Nigel d'Albini. St. Paul, London.	Osiet. Nigel de Wast. ...	Same Osiet. 7 socmen. ...	... ... Lewin Cilt.	0 0 2.0	1 5 2	0 0 4	0 9 1	0 0 0	0 0 0	0
c. Cadendone.	10 0	10	St. Paul, London.	...	Lewin [Cilt] from	King Edward.	4.0	1	3	22	6	0	0
CAINHOE. 193. Chainehou. 336. Cainou.	4 0 1 0	6 2	Nigel d'Albini. Azolina Taillebose.	... Turstan.	Aluric, thane of Uluric, socmen of	King Edward. King Edward.	2.3 0	2 1	2 0	3 1	2 1	0 0	0
CAMPTON. 83. Chambelstone. 98. Chambelstone. 280. Chambelstone.	4 2½ 0 2 1 3½	4 ½ ½	Walter Gifard. William de Ow. The King.	Ralf de Langetot. Fulbert. Turstin [chamberlain.]	6 socmen. Alwin, man of 3 socmen.	... Alestan. ...	0 0 1.1½	1 ½ 1	0 0 0	4 1 2*	3 0 ½	0 0 0	0
CARDINGTON. 131. Chernetone. 326. Chernetone.	6 2½ 3 1½	8 4	Hugh de Beauchamp. Countess Judith.	... Hugh.	13 socmen. Azelin,* man of	... Earl Tosti.	2.2 0	1 4	0 0	12 12	7 0	0 0	0
CARLTON. 16. Carlentone. 198. Carlentone. 199. Carlentone.	1 1 1 1½ 1 0½	1½ 1½ 1½	Bp. Bayeux. Nigel d'Albini. Nigel d'Albini.	2 socmen from Herbert s. of Ivo. Chetel. Bernard.	Same two socmen. Golderon, man of 3 socmen.	... Levenot. ...	0 0 0	1½ 1½ 1½	0 0 0	0 3 0	0 0 0	0 0 0	0
276. Carlentone. 366. Carlentone.	1 1½ 0 3½	2 1	The King. [The King.]	Osbern fisher. Chelbert.	Godwin frambolt, th. of Same Chelbert,* m. of Alli, thane of	King Edward. Queen Edith. King Edward.	0 0	1 1	0 0	2 2	1 0	0 0	0
CHAINHALLE. 126. Chainhalle. 127. Chainhalle.*	5 0 0 2	5 1	Hugh de Beauchamp. Hugh de Beauchamp.	... ...	Aschil, thane of Aschil, thane of	King Edward. King Edward.	2.0 0	2 ½	0 0	12 0	3 0	0 0	0
CHAIGRAVE. 102. Celgrave. 283. Celgrave.	0 0½ 8 0½	0 10	Ernulf de Hesding. The King	... Albert of Lorraine.	... ...	Edward wit. The same Albert.	0 *	0 2	0 0	0 13	0 8	0 0	0
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	value s. d.	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
349. Bideham.*	1	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	Biddenham, 349.
350. Bideham.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	
BIGGIESWADE.										
289. Pichelesuade.	10	3	10*	0	2	47.0	17.0	15.0	10.0	Biggleswade, 289.
BISCOT.										
9. Bissopescote.*	0	3	4	0	0	0.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	Biscot, 9.
BIETSOE.										
148. Blecheshou.	2	2	1	100	$\frac{1}{2}$	10.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
301. Blacheshou.	3	3	1	100	$\frac{1}{2}$	10.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	
BLUNHAM.										
50. Blunham.	5	1	4	0	1	20.0	4.0	3.10	6.0	
113. Blunham.	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.5	
328. Blunham.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	1.0	0.10	1.0	
BOINHURST.										
13. Bolechestre.	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	30	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.12	
14. Bolechestre.	2	0	0	4	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.12	
26. Bulechestre.*	4	0	1	20	0	0.0	0.15	0.15	1.0	
62. Bolechestre.*	5	0	1	106	0	0.0	3.0	2.0	6.0	Boinhurst, 26.
299. Bolechestre.	2	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	20	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	0.12	
BROMHAM.										
168. Bruncham.	0	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	0.10	1.0	1.0	
150. Bruncham.	5	6	6	40	1	20.0*	7.0	5.0	4.0	
302. Bruncham.	2	0	2	0	1	40.0*	1.0	0.10	0.10	
378. Bruncham.	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.5	
BROOM.										
189. Brume.	5	0	0	30	0	0.0	2.0			
CADDINGTON.										
64. Cadendone.*	4	2	0	200	0	0.0	2.0	0.10	5.0	Caddington, 64.
c. Cadendone.	5	2	*	100†	0	0.0	5.10	6.0	6.0	Caddington, c.
CAINHOE.										
193. Chainhou.	3	5	8	100*	1	6.0	3.0	1.10	5.0	
336. Cainou.	3	0	1	100	0	0.0	1.0	0.10	1.0	Cainhoe, 193.
CAMPTON.										
83. Chambelstone.	0	0	4	40	1	3.3	3.0	1.0	3.10	
98. Chambelstone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	
280. Chambelstone.	1	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	20	0	0.0	1.10	1.10	2.0	Campton, 280.
CARDINGTON.										
131. Chernetone.	6	0	3	120	1	40.0*	6.0	5.0	6.0	
326. Chernetone.	3	3	1	0	0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	Cardington, 131.
CARLTON.										
16. Carlentone.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	1.63	1.10	1.10	Cardington, 326.
198. Carlentone.	2	0	$1\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	1.0	0.10	0.15	
199. Carlentone.	5	0	1	0	1	13.4	2.0	1.0	1.10	
276. Carlentone.	4	0	2	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	
366. Carlentone.	3	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.23	0.10	Carlton, 366.
CHAINHALLE.										
126. Chainhalle.	9	5	3	100	1	40.0*	8.0	5.0	7.0	
127. Chainhalle.*	2	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	Chainhalle, 126.
CHALGRAVE.										
102. Celgrave.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	
283. Celgrave.	4	6	8	50	0	0.0	7.0	6.0	6.0	Chainhalle, 127.
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS.
SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.

* Half a hide and a quarter virgate, the same man who now holds it held T.R.E., and could give it to whom he would. But one virgate he held in pledge T.R.E., and still holds, as the men of the Hundred witness. The same bought one virgate and a quarter after King William came in England, and did no service [therefor] to the King nor to any other.

* And five shillings from hay.

* This land Ralf Talliebosc added to Luton, the King's manor, for the increment which it gave to him, and put it outside the Hundred in which it answered T.R.E. On the other hand, he took other five hides from another Hundred, and set them in Flichtham Hundred.

* In exchange for Bledone.
* On the day that King Edward was alive and dead, the land belonged to Thorney. To this the men of the Hundred bear witness.
† In demesne is one carucate of land besides the 2 hides and virgate.

* And a hundred and twenty-five eels.
* And a hundred eels. It [the mill] is indeed of the fee of the Countess, but does not lie in this land.

* The Canons have a writ of the King in which is held that he himself gave this manor to the Church of St. Paul.
* Pasture for cattle.
† And two shillings.

* And 2 shillings [due from the wood].

* Two villans and a bordar have a half plough.

* And a hundred eels.
* Azelin could not give or sell without leave of him who held Cameton.

* Of this land the same Chelbert held one virgate. He was man of Queen Edith, and could give to whom he would. But he took possession of (occupavit) two virgates and a half, whereof he has found neither deliverer nor voucher, land which Alli thane of King Edward held.

* And a hundred eels.
* This lies to Putenehou.

* In demesne are three carucates of land.

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMESNE			VILLANS		
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams	
								there	short		there	short
Column I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
332. Cerlertone.* CHARLTON.	10 0	10	Adeliz de Grentmesnil.	...	...	E. Tosti, later King Edward.	5.0	2	3	16	5†	0
105. Chaelestorne. CHAWSTON.	1 1	1	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	...	2 men of	King Edward.	0	1	0	4	0	0
155. Calnestorne.	0 4	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Riwal.	2 socmen.	...	0	[1]	0	0	0	0
215. Chaelestorne.*	7 1	7	William Spech.	William, s. of Raine-ward.	12 socmen.	...	0	1	0	16	6	0
216. Chaelestorne. CHICKSAND.	0 2	2	Will. Spech.	William gros.	2 men of	King Edward.	0	1	0	2	0	0
43. Chicheseane.	3 0	1	Bp. Lincoln.	Will. de Caron.	Alwin Deule.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
314. Chicheseane.	1 0	1	Azelina Taillebos.*	3 socmen.	4 socmen.	...	0	1	1	0	0	0
345. Chicheseane. CLAPHAM.	5 0	30	Milo Crispin.	...	...	Ulmar of Etone.	5.0†	8	2	18	20	0
99. Clopetham.*	3 0†	2	Bp. Lincoln.	Will. de Caron.	Alwin Deule, m. of Same Lewin.*	King Edward.	0	1	1	3	0	0
42. Cliftone.	1 0	1	Abb. Ramsey.	Lewin.	...	Abb. Ramsey.	0	1	0	0	0	0
57. Cliftone.	6 2	4†	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	William de Caron.	...	Ulmar of Etone.	0	2	0	9	2†	0
206. Cliftone.	2 0	1†	Nigel d'Albini.	William de Caron.	3 socmen (1.0† hides).	...	0	1	1	0	0	0
329. Cliftone. CLOPHILL.	1 0	1	Countess Judith.	Alwin.	4 socmen.	King Edward.	0	1	1	0	0	0
192. Clopelle.*	5 0	8	Nigel d'Albini.	...	Ulric, man of	Earl Tosti.	3.0	2	0	5	6	0
159. Colneworde. COLMWORTH.	5 0	10	Hugh de Beauchamp. Wimund de Taissel.	A[s]chi[l],thane of 8 socmen.	King Edward.	...	0	2	0	12	8	0
170. Cochebol. COPL.*	4 0	4	Hugh de Beauchamp. Robert.	3 socmen.	...	...	0	2	0	6	2	0
171. Cochebol.	1 1	1	Hugh de Beauchamp. Raynald.	2 socmen.	...	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
172. Cochebol.	1 0†	1	Hugh de Beauchamp. Gonfrid.	2 socmen, m. of	The King.	...	0	1	0	1	0	0
173. Cochebol.	1 0	1	Hugh de Beauchamp. Norman.	...	Aschil (3 v.)*	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
174. Cochebol.	1 0	1	Hugh de Beauchamp. Branting.	3 socmen.	...	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
175. Cochebol.	0 3	1	Hugh de Beauchamp. Robert.	2 socmen.	...	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
176. Cochebol.*	0 2†	1	Hugh de Beauchamp. Roger priest and Liboret.	3 socmen.	...	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
327. Cochebol. CRANFIELD.	0 1	1	Countess Judith.	Hugh.	Wlwin, man of	King Edward.	0	0	0	0	0	0
52. Cranfelle. CUDESAND.	10 0	12	Abb. Ramsey.	...	...	Abb. Ramsey.	2.0	2	0	18	10	0
82. Cudessane.	3 2	3	[Walter Gifard.]	Germund from Ralf Langetot.	4 socmen.	...	0	1	0	1	2*	0
178. Cudessane. DEAN.	2 0	1†	Hugh de Beauchamp.	3 socmen.	4 socmen.	...	0	1†	0	0	0	0
21. Dena.	4 0	5	Bp. Coutances.	(6 socmen.)	6 socmen, of the King's soke * men of	Borret.	0	0	0	0	0	0
36. Dene.	2 0†	3†	Bp. Lincoln.	Godfrey.	Godric,thane of	King Edward.	0	2	0	7*	1†	0
84. Dene.*	2 0	3	Will. de Warena.	3 socmen.	Same 3 socmen.†	...	0	3	0	0	0	0

Column I

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TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	s. d. value	to 86 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
332. Charlton.*	9	2	10	16	1	30.0	10.0	8.0	12.0	Charlton, 332.
										* King Edward held this manor, and it had been of Earl Toeti. This land was T.R.E. a berewick of Potone, the manor of Countess Judith, so that no one could separate it therefrom.
										† Sixteen villans and nine bordars with five ploughs.
CHAWSTON.										
105. Chaelestorne.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	Chawston, 215.
155. Calnestorne.	2	0	4	60	0	0.0	0.10	0.15	1.0	
215. Chaelestorne.*	2	1	7	10	1	13.4	6.0	4.0	9.0	
										* In right of (de) these seven hides and one virgate, the men of William Spec claim one acre and a half of meadow against the men of Eudo dapifer, and the Hundred bears witness that his antecessor had it T.R.E. And other seven acres of land the same William claims against a certain man of Hugh de Beauchamp, whereof he himself is disseised, but his antecessor was seised. Out of (de) the land aforesaid Eudo dapifer claims an acre against Ruallon, man of Hugh de Beauchamp.
216. Chaelestorne.	0	0	3	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	Chicksand, 344. Chicksand, 345.
CHICKSAND.										
43. Chichesane.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.2	
344. Chichesane.	0	0	2	20	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	Clapham, 99
345. Chichesane.	0	0	1	50	1	10.0	1.0	1.0	1.10	
CLAPHAM.										
99. Clopham.*	15	4	6	200†	1	40.0	24.0	24.0	12.0	* The Abbot and monks of Ramsey claim this manor, because it is and was T.R.E. [a part] of their living, and the whole Hundred bears witness of this.
										† Besides these five hides, are in demesne ten carucates of land.
										‡ And [from the wood a due of] six pence.
CLIFTON.										
42. Clifstone.	0	2	2	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	4.0	Clifton, 57.
57. Clifstone.	0	0	3	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	
119. Clifstone.	1	3	43	0	2	40.0*	5.0	4.0	6.0	
206. Clifstone.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.15	0.10	1.0	Clifton, 119.
329. Clifstone.	0	0	3	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	
CLOPHILL.										
192. Clophelle.*	5	1	4	200†	0	0.0	3.0	1.10	8.0	* In right of (de) these five hides, Nigel claims one virgate, which his antecessor held T.R.E. He himself was seised thereof after he came to the Honour, but Ralf Tallgebose disseised him.
										† And [from the wood] twelve pence.
COLMWORTH.										
159. Colneworde.	13	1	0	200	0	0.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	
COPL.*										
170. Cochepeol.	1	1	1	100*	0	0.0	3.0	1.0	3.3	Cople, 170.
171. Cochepeol.	2	0	3	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	0.10	
172. Cochepeol.	0	1	3	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	0.10	
173. Cochepeol.	0	0	3	0	0	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.8	Cople, 173.
174. Cochepeol.	0	0	3	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	
175. Cochepeol.	0	0	3	0	0	0.0	0.73	0.73	0.73	Cople, 170-176
176. Cochepeol.*	0	0	3	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	
327. Cochepeol.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.23	0.23	0.23	
CRANFIELD.										
52. Cranfelle.	2	5	2	1000*	0	0.0	9.0	9.0	12.0	Cranfield, 52.
CUDSAND.										
82. Cudessane.	3	1	3	40	†	0.0	2.0	1.0	3.0	
178. Cudessane.	1	0	13	4	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.10	Cudsand, 82.
DEAN.										
21. Dena.	6	2	0	0	0	0.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	
36. Dene.	8	2	1	0	0	0.0	2.0	1.10	1.10	Dean, 21.
84. Dene.*	5	1	0	0	0	0.0	1.10	1.10	1.10	
										* As to three and a half hides, they could give and sell and withdraw to another lord, without leave of Borred. But half a hide they could not give and sell without his leave.
										* The villans [number not given] have a team and a half. There are eight bordars and two serfs.
										* Of a half hide and a half virgate of this land, William Spec was seised by the King and his deliverer. But William de Warena disseised him without a King's writ, and took two horses away from his men, nor has he yet restored them. To this the men of the Hundred witness.
										† [Of the three socmen] one could not give and sell his land without leave of his lord. But the other two could do this.
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMESNE			VILLANS		
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams	
								there	short		there	short
Column I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
373. Dene.*	1 3½	3½	[The King.]	11 King's socmen.	Same 11 socmen.	...	...	0	3½	0	0	0
374. Dene. DUNTON.	0 0½		The King.	Goduin Dere of Bedford	Same Godwin.	...	...	0	0	0	0	0
79. Domitone.	1 3	2	Walter Gifard.	Ralf de Langetot.	4 socmen, men of	Archbp. Stigand.	0	2	0	4	0	0
260. Damtone. EATON BRAY.	8 1	8	The King	Richard Pungiant.	...	Archbp. Sugand.	4.1	3	0	12	5	0
10. Eltone.	12 1	20	Bp. Bayeux.	...	Alsi, man of	Queen Edith.	2.0	4	2	20	8	6
EATON SOCON. 103. Etone.*	20 0	16	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	...	Ulmar,thane of 2 socmen.	King Edward.	7.2	4	0	38	12	0
EDLESBOROUGH. 227. Edingeberge.	10 0	7½	Gilbert de Gand.	...	Ulf,thane of	King Edward.	5.0	4	0	10	4	0
EDWORTH. 95. Edeuorde.	7 3½	8	William de Ow.	2 soldiers.	...	Alestan de Boscume.	0	3	0	8	5	0
361. Edeuorde.*	2 2	2	[The King.]	Alwin reeve.	(1½ h.) 2 socm., m. of Branting, in. of	Alestan. King Edward.	0	2	0	2	0	0
ELSTOW. 297. Elnestou.	3 2	7	Countess Judith.	Abhess of Elstow.	4 socmen,* m. of	King Edward.	0	2	0	14	5	0
ELVENDON. 273. Eluendone.	1 1	1½	Osbern s. of Richard.	Hugh Hubald.	Alwin, man of	Stori.	0	1½	0	0	0	0
EVERSHOLT. 11. Eureshot.	1 0	2	Bp. Bayeux's fee.	Ansgot de Rochester.	...	4. thanes.	0	1	1	4	0	0
140. Eureshot.	7 2	8	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Ralf.	Turgis,thane of	King Edward.	0	2	0	15	6	0
356. Euresot.*	0 2		[The King.]	Herbert, Kg's. reeve.	5 socmen.	...	0	0	0	1	0	0
EVERTON. 323. Eurtone.*	5 0	5	Countess Judith.	Rannulf, bro. of Ilger.	...	Earl Tosti.	0	2	3	4	0	0
o. Eurtune.*	7 0	13	The King.	Rannulf, bro. of Ilger.	...	Ingewar.	0	2	0	19†	9	0
EYWORTH. 218. Alsseuorde.	9 0	9	William Spech.	...	20 socmen.	...	5.2	3	0	13	6	0
338. Aieuorde.*	1 0	1	Azelina Tailleosc.	Brodo.	Same Brodo.	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
FARNDISH. 268. Fernadis.	2 0	2½	The King.	William.	3 socmen.	...	0	2	0	3	½	0
269. Fernadis.	1 0	1	The King.	Henry, s. of Azor.	2 socmen.	...	0	1	0	2	0	0
p. Farnedis.*	0 3	1	William Teverel.	2 socmen.	...	...	0	0	0	0	1	0
FELMERESHAM. 282. Flammeresham.	7 2	8	Gilbert s. of Salomon.	...	6 socmen.	...	4.0	3	0	4	4	0
304. Falmeresham.	3 2	3	Countess Judith.	Gilbert [s. of Salom.]	Alti,thane of	King Edward.	0	1	0	2	1	1
FLITTON. 231. Fliththam.	5 0	6	The King.	Robert Fafiton.	Alwin horim,thane of	King Edward.	2.0	2	0	3	2	2
FLITWICK. 267. Flitceuuiche.	5 0	7	The King.	William Lovet.	Alwin,thane of	King Edward.	2.0	2	0	3	3	2
GLADLEY. 293. Gledelai.	2 2	1	Gozelin Brito.	...	Wigot, huntsm. of	King Edward.	0	½	0	0	0	0
GOLDINGTON. 40. Goldentone.	0 2	½	Bp. Lincoln.	Ivo Tallebosc.	Alwin Sac, m. of	The Bp. of Lincoln.	0	½	0	2	0	0
128. Goldentone.*	3 1	3	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	9 socmen.	...	0	3	0	7	0	0
162. Goldentone.*	2 0	3	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Roger, s. of Teodric.	3 socmen.	...	0	2	0	3	1	0
163. Goldentone.*	3 0	3	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Richard.	Almar, m. of	Aschil.	0	2	0	5	1	0
164. Goldentone.*	1 0	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Walter.	The men of the Vill in	common.	0	1	0	0	0	0
368. Coldentone.*	0 2	½	The King.	Alric Wintremelc.	Same Alric, m. of	King Edward.	0	½	0	0	0	0
GRAVENHURST. 142. Crauenhest.	3 2	4	Hugh de Beauchamp.	William Froissart.	5 socmen.	...	0	2	0	4	1	1
HANFELD. 86. Hanfelde.*	0 3	1	Will. de Warenn.	...	...	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
375. Hanefeld. HARLINGTON.	0 1	½	The King's Soke.	Saiet.	Same Saiet.	...	0	½	0	0	0	0
183. Herlingdone.	5 0	10	Nigel d'Albini.	...	4 thanes.	...	0	3½	2	12	5	0
Column I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	s. value	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
373. Dene.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.10	1.10	1.10	Deao, 373.
374. Dene.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	* This land Ralf [Taillebosc] added to the King's service (ministerium), in which it was not T.R.E.
DUNTON.										
79. Domtooe.	2	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.13½	1.13½	1.13½	
260. Damtone.	2	3	0	60	0	0.0	8.0	6.0	6.0	
EATON BRAY.										
10. Eltone.	13	2	6	300*	0	0.0	16.0	20.0	20.0	Eatoo Bray, 10.
EATON SOCON.										* And [from dues of the wood] twelve pence.
103. Etone.*	7	8	12	400‡	2§	36.6	15.0	8.0	10.0	Eaton Socoo, 103.
										* Out of (de) this land, Tedbald man of Countess Judith claims one hide, of which Eudo disseised him after that he came to the manor.
EDLESBOROUGH.										† And two socmen who were not able to give and sell their land.
227. Edingeberge.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	5.10	5.10	10.0	‡ And two acres of vineyard.
EDWORTH.										§ And a hundred eels.
95. Edeuorde.	2	5	2	0	0	0.0	8.0	10.0	10.0	
361. Edeuorde.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.10	1.10	1.10	Edworth, 361.
										* This land [and five others] Ralf Talgebosc added to the King's service when he was Sheriff, for they were not in it T.R.E. Those who now have them, hold by grant of the King. So they say.
ELSTOW.										
297. Elnestou.	11	4	4	60	1	24.0	5.0	2.0	10.0	Elstow, 297.
ELVENDON.										* But their soke lay always to Camestone.
273. Elucadone.	0	0	1	34	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.15	
EVERSHOLT.										
11. Eureshot.	1	0	1	50	0	0.0	1.0	1.10	2.0	
140. Eureshot.	0	4	8	100	0	0.0	5.0	3.0	3.0	Eversholt, 356.
356. Euresot.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.6	1.0	1.0	* This land [and two others] he holds in the King's service, which did not lie in it T.R.E. But from the time that Ralf Talgebosc was Sheriff he says that he held by grant of the King.
EVERTON.										
323. Euretone.*	5	0	1	0	0	0.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	Everton, 323.
o. Euretune.*	2	0	‡	§	0	0.0			10.0	Everton, o.
										* It lay to Potone, the Countess' own manor.
EYWORTH.										* There is a priest and a church.
218. Aisscuorde.	2	6	9	0	1	8.0	7.0	7.0	8.0	† Nineteen villans and two bordars having nine teams.
338. Aieuorde.*	1	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	‡ Fifteen acres of meadow.
FARNDISH.										§ Forty acres of dwarf wood.
268. Farnadis.	2	1	1	0	0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.0	
269. Farnadis.	0	0	½	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	
p. Farnedis.*										
FELMERESHAM.										
282. Flaumeresham.	6	0	4	0	0	0.0	5.0	12.0	12.0	
304. Falmeresham.	4	0	1	0	1	10.0	3.0	5.0	5.0	
FLITTON.										
231. Flittham.	3	4	6	50	0	0.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	
FLITWICK.										
267. Fliteuiche.	7	0	5	100	1	4.0	2.10	3.0	8.0	
GLADLEY.										
293. Gledelai.	0	0	1	100	1	16.0	1.0	1.0	2.0	
GOLDINGTON.										
40. Goldentone.	0	0	½	0	0	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	
128. Goldentone.*	1	0	1	0	1	30.0†	3.0	3.0	4.0	Goldingtoo, 128.
										* [One virgate] which lies to Putenehou. Of this land Ralf Tallgebosc had two hides and three virgates in exchange for Warres.
162. Goldeotone.*	2	0	1	0	0	0.0	1.10	1.0	2.0	† And a hundred eels.
163. Goldentone.*	0	1	2	0	0	0.0	2.0	0.10	3.0	* These two hides Ralf Tallb' had in exchange for Wares.
										* These three hides Ralf Tallgebosc had in exchange for Wares.
164. Goldentone.*	0	2	½	0	0	0.0	0.15	0.10	0.15	* This land is exchange for Wares.
368. Coldentone.*	0	0	½	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.5	* This laod Afric afterwards, when William was King, gave to the Canons of St. Paul [? Bedford], and granted that after his death they should have it altogether.
GRAVENHURST.										
142. Crauenhest.	3	4	4	100	0	0.0	3.0	3.0	5.0	
HANEFELD.										
86. Hanefelde.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	Hanefeld, 86.
										* This land lay always to Chenebaltone, but always gelded (warram dedit) rightly in Bedfordshire.
HANEFELD.										
175. Hanefeld.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	
HARLINGTON.										
183. Herlingdone.	6	10	4	400*	0	0.0	6.0	4.0	9.0	Harlingdon, 183.
										* And [from the wood] a ram and a load of oats.
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMENSE			VILLANS		
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams	
								there	short		there	short
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
HARROLD.												
306. Harcunelle.	10 o	16	Countess Judith.	Gilbert de Blosseville.	3 thanes of	King Edward.	o	1	2	10	7	6
HARROWDEN.												
67. Herghetone.*	1 o	1	Ernuin priest.	...	Ernuin's f., m. of	King Edward.	o	1	o	o	o	o
205. Herghetone.	6 o	8	Nigel d'Albini.	...	14 socmen.	...	1.2½	1	o	14	7	o
325. Hergentone.	3 o	3	Countess Judith.	Canons of Bedford.	Azelin,* m. of	Earl Tosti.	o	3	o	6	o	o
HATLEY.												
322. Hatclai.*	3 2½	6½	Countess Judith.	...	...	Earl Tosti.	1.0½	2	o	8	4½	o
339. Hatclai.*	5 1½	8	Azelina Taillebose.	...	1 socman (1 virg.) Uhnar,thane of (2½ v.) 2 socm., m. of	King Edward Ulmar.	1.1	2	o	8	6½	o
HAWNES.												
136. Hagenes.	5 o	8	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	A[s]chi[1],thane of	King Edward.	2.2	3	o	14	5	o
HENLOW.												
207. Haneslau.*	5 2	5½	Nigel d'Albini.	Erfast. St. Nich of Angers (3v.).	9 socmen.	...	o	2	o	10	3½	o
248. Haneslau.	3 2	3½	Walter Fleming.	Hugh.	6 socmen.	...	o	1	1	4	2	o
342. Haneslauuc.*	1 3	2	Azelina Taillebos.	Widrus.	...	Anschill.	o	2	o	2	o	o
343. Haneslauuc.	1 o	1	Azelina Taillebos.	Bernard.	2 socmen, men of	Anschill.	o	1	o	3	o	o
354. Haneslau.	o 1	1	The King.	Alric.	Same Alric.	...	o	1	o	o	o	o
HIGHAM GOMON.												
144. Echam.	8 o	11	Hugh de Beauchamp.	William de Locels.	5 socmen.	...	o	4	o	14	7	o
HINWICK.												
30. Heneuic.	1 2	2	Bp. Coutances.	Turstin.	...	...	o	1	o	3	1	o
213. Heneuic.	1 o	2	William Spech.	Walter.	Ulnod, man of	Ulsi, s. of Borgret.	o	1	1½	o	o	o
252. Haneuich.	1 2	3	The King.	Hugh Fleming.	Alwold, nian of	Bishop Wlwi.	o	2	o	1	1*	o
257. Haneuic.	1 3	3	Gunfrid de Cioches.	Tetbald.	2 socmen.	...	o	1	2	3	o	o
278. Heneuic.	1 3	2	The King.	Turstin chamberlain.	Godwin Frambolt, th. of King Edward.	...	1.0	1	o	2	1	o
351. Heneuich.	o 2	1	The King.	Edward, in alms *	Edward's father.	...	o	1	o	o	o	o
HOCKLIFF.												
335. Hocheleia.	10 o	8	Azelina Taillebos.	...	...	Anschil.	5.0	2	o	13	6*	o
HOLCOTE.												
209. Holcote.*	4 o	3	William Spech.	Ralf Passaquam.	Alward Belrap, m. of	Alric.	o	1	o	5	2	o
HOLME.												
o6. Holme.	o 3	1	William de Ow.	Ulric.	Alueua, m. of	Anschil.	o	1	o	o	o	o
165. Holma.	o 1	2	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Mortuing.	1 socman under	Anschil.	o	1	o	o	o	o
204. Holme.	1 o½	2	Nigel d' Albini.	Fulcher of Paris.	7 socmen.	...	o	2	o	3	o	o
243. Holme.	1 o	1½	Walter Fleming.	...	2 socmen.	...	o	1	1	o	o	o
290. Holme.	2 o	5	Ralf de Insula.	...	...	Archbp. Stigand.	o	5	o	6	o	o
311. Holme.	o 2	1	Countess Judith.	Fulcher [of Paris.]	3 socmen (2 v.)	King Edward.	o	1	o	1	o	o
312. Holme.	o 1	2	Countess Judith.	2 men.	Alwin, man of	King Edward.	o	1	o	o	o	o
362. Holme.*	1 2	1½	[The King.]	Alwin reeve.	Godwin, man of Alwin & Lemar, bedells	[of King Edward.]	o	1	1	2	o	o
HOLWELL.												
59. Holwelle.	3 2	4	Abb. Ramsey.	...	...	Abb. Ramsey.	1.0	1	o	8	3	o
61. Holwelle.	6 2	6	Abb. Westminster.	...	...	Abb. Westminster.	3.0½	2	o	11	4	o
HOUGHTON CONQUEST.												
135. Houstone.	5 o	6	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	7 socmen.	...	o	6	o	8	o	o
295. Houstone.	o 2	1	Countess Judith.	Hugh.	Lepsi, man of	Earl Tosti.	o	1	o	o	o	o
331. Onstone.*	4 2	6	Adeliz de Grentmesnil.	Ernald.	3 socmen	...	o	2	o	11	3½	1
				(1 socman, 1 bide.)								
HOUGHTON REGIS.												
6. Houstone.*	9 2	22	The King.	...	...	[The King].	o	2	o	38	22	o
7. Houstone Ch.	o 2	1	[The King.]	William chamberlain.	...	[The King].	o	1	o	o	o	o
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMESNE			VILLANS		
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams	
								there	short		there	short
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
HUSBORNE CRAWLEY.												
179. Crawlal.	5 0	5	Nigel d' Alhini.	Turgis.	9 thanes.	...	0	2	0	1	0	3
266. Crauelai.	5 0	5	The King.	William Lovet.	Grimbald, man of	King Edward.	2.0	2	0	5	2	1
KEMPSTON.												
298. Camestone.	10 0	20	Countess Judith.	...	2 thanes (2 h. 3½ v.)	Earl Guert.	2.0	4	0	18	12	4
KENEMONDWICK.												
49. Chenemondewiche.	3 3	4	Abb. St. Edmund.	...	2 socmen.	Earl Wallef.*	1.3	2	0	6	2	0
KENSWORTH.												
h. Canesworde.	10 0	10	St. Paul, London.		Lewin cilt from	King Edward.	5.0	2	3	8	2*	3
KEYSOF.												
122. Chaisot.	4 3	5	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	Aschil,thane of 12 socmen (3½ h.)	King Edward.	0	5	0	9	0	0
272. Caisot.	0 1	½	Osbern s. of Richard.	Hugh Huhald.	...	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
i. Caisot.*	0 3	½	William de Warenne.	1 socman.	...	Allic.	0	0	0	0	0	0
n. Caisot.*	0 1	½	The King.	Alwin.	...	Same Alwin.	0	0	0	1	½	0
KNOTTING.												
19. Chenotinga.	5 0	5	Bp. Coutances.	...	...	Burret.	3.0	2	0	8	3	0
LANGFORD.												
245. Langford.	10 0	16	Walter Fleming.	...	Lewin,thane of 1 socman (1 hide).	King Edward.	4.1	4	1	12	9*	2
LEIGHTON.												
2. Lestone *	43 0	52	The King.		10 h. Wenesi chamb. of 7 h. Starcher th. of	The King (26 H.) King Edward. King Edward.	43.0	6	0	82	46	0
3. Lestone Ch.	4 0	3	[The King.]	Bp. of Lincoln.	Bishop Wlwi	[King Edward].	0	1	0	6	1	1
45. Lestone Ch.			Bp. of Lincoln.									
LIDLINGTON.												
63. Lhincletone.	10 0	11	Abh. Barking.	...	...	Abh. Barking.	2.0	2	1	23	8	0
LUTON.												
4. Loitone.*	25 0	82	The King.	...	...	[The King].	0	4	0	80	78	0
5. Loitone Ch.*	5 0	6	The King.	William chamberlain	Morcar priest	...	0	1	0	11	5	0
MARSTON.												
77. Merestone.*	1 3½	3	Walter Gifard.	Hugh de Bolebec.	2 thanes.	...	0	1	0	6	2	0
186. Merstone.	8 0½	10	Nigel d'Albini.	Erfast.	21 socmen.	...	0	3	0	14	8	0
MAULDEN.												
78. Meldone.	3 0	4	Walter Gifard.	Hugh de Bolebec.	...	Alwin, bro. of Bp. Wulwi	0	2	0	5	2	0
134. Meldone.	0 2½	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	Godwin, man of	Aschil.	0	1	0	1	0	0
190. Meldone.*			Nigel d'Alhini.									
294. Meldone.	5 1½	5	Countess Judith.	Abh. of Elstow.	Alwold,thane of 1 socman (½ v.)	King Edward.	0	2	0	7	3	0
359. Meldone.*	0 2	½	[The King.]	a King's reeve.	2 socmen of	King Edward.	0	½	0	2	0	0
MELCHBOURNE.												
20. Melceburne.	10 0	10	Bp. Coutances.	...	6 socmen.	Burret.	3.0	3	0	13	7	0
MEPPERSHALL.												
281. Malperteselle.*	4 0	4	The King.	Gilbert, s. of Salomon.	Lewin cilt,thane of 4 socmen (2 h.)	King Edward.	5.0	3	2	5	2	0
d. Mapertesbale.*	3 1	3	Gilbert, s. of Salomon.	...	Lewin,thane of	King Edward				†		
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

23

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	s. d.	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
HUSPORNE CRAWLEY.										
179. Crawlal.	7	1	5	0	0	0.0	1.10	2.0	5.0	
266. Crawlal.	3	2	5	0	2	10.0	2.0	1.10	5.0	
KEMPSTON.										
298. Camestone.	12	8	20	200*	1	5.0	18.0	22.0	30.0	Kenipston, 298. * And from pasture two shillings.
KENEMONDWICK.										
49. Kenemondwiche.	0	0	1	0	1	13.4	3.0	1.10	4.0	Kenemondwick, 49. * This land Earl Waltheof and his wife gave to St. Edmund in alms T.R.W.
KENSWORTH.										
b. Canesworde.	3	3	†	100‡	0	0.0	3.10	5.0	5.0	Kensworth, b. * Eight villans with three bordars have two teams. † Pasture for [the township's] cattle. ‡ From rent of wood, two shillings.
KEYSOE.										
122. Chaisot.	6	1	4	200	1	2.0	5.0	4.0	5.0	
272. Caissot.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.4	
i. Caissot.*	7	0	†	‡	0	0.0				Keysoe, i. * It is a soke. † Four acres of meadow. ‡ Fifty acres of grazing woodland.
n. Caissot.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1‡		0.1‡	Keysoe, n. * It lies in Bedeforde scire but pays geld in Hunted[one]scire.
KNOTTING.										
19. Chenotinga.	5	4	2	400	0	0.0	4.0	3.0	3.0	
LANGFORD.										
245. Langeford.	7	5	16†	16	2	26.8	15.10	10.0	15.0	Langford, 245. * Twelve villans, seven bordars, and five serfs with nine teams. † And two shillings, over and above [from meadow]. From pasture six shillings, and there is still pasture for three hundred sheep.
LEIGHTON.										
2. Lestone.*	30	2	40	100	2	30.0	†			Leighton, 2. * A demesne manor of the King . . . T.R.E. there were but thirty hides. † Toll of market renders seven pounds. In all it renders yearly twenty-two pounds by weight and a half day to the King's farm in grain and honey and other things which belong to the farm. To the Queen's use, two ounces of gold, and for one sumpter horse and custom of dogs seventy shillings, and a hundred shillings by weight, and forty shillings in blanch silver. This Ivo Taillebois levied as increment, and an ounce of gold to the use of the Sheriff yearly. Of the land of this manor, Wenesi chamberlain held ten hides from King Edward, which Ralf Taillebois added to Lestone, where they used not to be T.R.E. And again the same Ralf added other seven hides to this manor which were not there T.R.E. Those seven hides Starcher, thane of King Edward, held.
3. Lestone Ch.	6	0	3	0	0	0.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	
45. Lestone Ch.							4.0			
LIDLINGTON.										
63. Litinctetone.	16	7	8	400	0	0.0	8.0	8.0	12.0	
LUTON.										
4. Loitone.*	47	0	4	2000†	6	100.0	‡			Luton, 4. * A demesne manor of the King. † And from dues [of the wood] ten shillings eight pence. ‡ From toll and market a hundred shillings. In all, it renders yearly thirty pounds by weight, and a half day in grain and honey and other customs which belong to the King's farm. To the Queen four ounces of gold, and from a sumpter horse and other small customs seventy shillings, and from the custom of dogs six pounds and ten shillings. And, from the increment which Ivo Taillebois levied, seven pounds by weight and forty shillings of blanch silver, and an ounce of gold to the Sheriff.
5. Loitone Ch.*	4	3	0	50	1	10.0	3.0			
MARSTON.										
77. Merestone.*	5	0	3	300	0	0.0	2.10	1.0	4.0	Luton, 5. * The church renders yearly twenty shillings.
186. Merstone.	2	4	8	300	0	0.0	7.0	5.0	12.0	
MAULDEN.										
78. Meldone.	0	0	4	50	0	0.0	2.10	2.10	4.0	
134. Meldone.	1	0	1	20	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	0.12	Marston, 77. * Against (super) this land Erfast, man of Nigel d'Albini, claims half a close (sepem), which lay to the manor of his antecessor, as the men of the Hundred bear witness.
190. Meldone.*										
291. Meldone.	0	2	5	100	1	3.0	3.0	4.0	7.0	Maulden, 190. * In Meldone John de Roches wrongfully occupied twenty-five acres against the men who hold the vill, and now Nigel d'Albini has the land.
359. Meldone.*	0	0	‡	0	0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.10	Mauldon, 359. * This land [and five others] Ralf Talgebois added to the King's service, when he was Sheriff, for they were not in it T.R.E. Those who now have them, hold by grant of the King. So they say.
MELCHBOURNE.										
20. Melceburne.	15	3	3	100	0	0.0	8.0	5.0	6.0	
MEPPERSHALL.										
281. Malperteshale.*	4	2	7	200†	0	0.0	6.0	6.0	10.0	Meppershall, 281. * In Herefortscire [Herts.] the same vill answers for three hides and one virgate. There is land for three ploughs. † And from custom of the wood ten shillings.
d. Maperteshale*	†									Meppershall, d. * This land is assessed in Bedefordescyre with the rest of the land. † There are three villans and four cottars.
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands iii	1086		1066		DENESNE			VILLANS		
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams	
								there	short		there	short
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
MILLBROOK.												
187. Melebroc.	5 0	6	Nigel d'Albini.	Nigel de Wast.	... ? socmen*	Godwin, s. of Lewin.	0	2	0	4	4	0
MILLO.												
46. Melehou.*	4 2	4	The King.	Bp. Durham.	...	Abb. of Waltham.	3.2	1	1	4	2	0
80. Melehou.	5 0	5	Walter Gifard.	Ralf de Langetot.	10 socmen.	...	0	5	0	8	0	0
94. Melehou.	0 2	1	William de Ow.	...	Godmar, man of	Alestan.	0	1	0	0	0	0
MILTON BRYAN.												
12. Mildentone.	4 0	4	Bp. Bayeux.	Ansgot of Rochester.	7 socmen.	...	0	1	1	4	2	0
141. Mildentone.	6 0	6	Hugh de Beauchamp.	William Froissart.	Auti, housecarl of	Earl Algar.	0	3	0	6	3	0
MILTON ERNEST.												
99a. Mildentone.*			[Milo Crispin.]	[2 socmen.]	2 socmen.	...						
147. Middeltone.	1 3½	3	Hugh de Beauchamp.	William Basset.	...	...	0	2	0	1	1	0
197. Mildentone.	2 3	4	Nigel d'Albini.	Turgis.	6 socmen.	...	0	1	0	4*	2½	½
234. Mildentone.	2 0	3	Walter Fleming.	Rainald.	2 socmen, men of	Brictric.	0	1	0	2	1	1
333. Mildentone.	3 1	4	Adeliz de Grentmesnil.	Ivo, dapifer of H. de Grentmesnil.	Godwin, man of	Borret.	0	2	0	8	2	0
377. Mildentone.	0 0½	1	The King.	a King's bedell.	The bedell's father.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
NEWTON BROMSWOLD.												
27. Neuenoth.	0 1		Bp. Coutances.	William his dapifer.	Alwin*, man of	Borred.	0	0	0	0	0	0
NORTHILL.												
117. Nortgine[le].	1 2	1½	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	Pirot.	Ravan, man of	Ulmar of Etone.	0	1	1	3	0	0
118. Nortgine[le].	1 2	2	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	Ralf.	2 socmen.	...	0	2	0	0	0	0
177. Nortgible.	0 2	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Walter.	Osiet, man of	King Edward.	0	1	0	0	0	0
223. Nortginele.	6 2	7	William Spech.	...	6 socmen.	...	4.0	3	0	10	4	0
OAKLEY.												
225. Achelai.	4 0	8	Robert de Todeni.	2 soldiers.	Osulf, thane of	King Edward.	0	3	1	7	4	0
300. Achelai.	1 0	1½	Countess Judith.	Milo Crispin.	Godwin, man of	Earl Harold.	0	1	1	0	0	0
ODELL.												
73. Wadelle.	4 2½	[5]	Count Enstace.	Ernulf de Arde.	Alwold, thane of	King Edward.	0	1	1	3	2	1
236. Wadellele.	5 1½	5	The King.	Walter Fleming.	Levenot, thane of 1 socman (½ hide).	King Edward.	2.0	2	0	13	3	0
PAVENHAM.												
71. Pabeneham.	2 2	3	Count Enstace.	Ernulf de Arde.	Aluold, thane of	King Edward.	0	0	[3]	0	0	0
230. Pabeneham.*	5 0	6	Rannulf bro. of Ilger.	Robert, s. of Nigel.	Godwin, thane of	King Edward.	0	1	1	9	2	2
277. Pabeneham.	2 2	3	The King.	Turstin chamberlain	Alsi, man of	bis brother Ali.	1.0	1	0	6	2	0
PEGSDON.												
54. Pechesdone.	10 0	14	Abb. Ramsey.	...	...	Abb. Ramsey.	2.0	2	1	37	11	0
PERTENHALL.												
g h. Partenhale.*	0 1	1	Bp. Lincoln.	William.	...	Alwin Deule.	0	0	0	0	0	0
PODINGTON.												
237. Podintone.	1 3	5½	Walter Fleming.	Hugh.	Levenot, thane of	King Edward.	0	2	0	4	3½	0
251. Podintone.	2 1	2½	The King.	Hugh Fleming.	4 socmen.	...	0.2	1	0	3	1½	0
q. Potintone.*	0 2		William Peverel.	...	...	...	0	0	0	4	1	0
POLEHANGER.												
f. Polehangre.	0 2	1	Robert d' Oilgi.	Martel.	Aluric, man of	Earl Waltheof.	0	1	0	0	0	0
POTSGRAVE.												
263. Potesgraue.	1 0	1	The King.	William chamberlain.	...	Morcar priest of Luitone.	0	1	0	0	0	0
292. Potesgraue.	7 2	7½	The King.	Gozelin Prito.	...	4 thanes.	3.0	3	0	3	2	2½
356. Potesgraue.*	1 0		[The King.]	Herbert, Kg.'s reeve	[v. Eversholt, 356]	...						
357. Potesgraua.	0 2	1	[The King.]	a King's groom.	Oswi, man of	Earl Tosti.	0	1	0	0	0	0
POTTON.												
309. Potone.*	0 0½	1	Countess Judith.	Hugh.	...	Earl Tosti.	0	1	0	0	0	0
313. Potone.	10 0	12	Countess Judith.	(2 socmen.)	...	King Edward.*	3.2	3	0	18†	8	1
PRIESTLEY.												
182. Prestelai.	1 2	2	Nigel d'Albini.	Turgis.	5 thanes.	...	0	2	0	1	0	0
358. Prestelai.*	1 0	1	[The King.]	a King's reeve.	4 thanes.	...	0	0	0	1	0	0
PULLOXHILL.												
195. Polochessele.	10 0	13	Nigel d'Albini.	Roger and Ruallon.*	8 socmen.	...	0	2	2	11	9	0
PUTNOE.												
124. Putenchou.	4 0	5	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	Aschil, thane of	King Edward.	2.0	2	0	6	3	0
RADWELL.												
200. Radeuuelle.	7 1½	5	Nigel d'Albini.	Nigel de Wast.	10 socmen.	...	0	1	0	6	4	0
305. Radeuuelle.	2 2½	1½	Countess Judith.	Hugh.	Tovi, housecarl of	King Edward.	0	1½	0	1	0	0
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILL

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	value s. d.	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
MILLBROOK.										
187. Melebroc.	2	0	2	100	2	6.0	3.0	1.10	5.0	Millbrook, 187. * [And there were — socmen] who all were able to give and sell their land to whom they would.
MILLO.										
46. Melehoul.*	0	1	0	0	0	0.0	2.0	2.0	3.0	Millo, 46. * This land King Edward gave to the Church of Holy Cross of Waltham, as the men of the Hundred witness.
80. Melehoul.	4	0	0	0	0	0.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	
94. Melehoul.	1	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	
MILTON BRYAN.										
12. Mildentone	3	8	4	30	0	0.0	4.0	4.0	2.0	
141. Mildeltone.	3	4	6	40	0	0.0	6.0	4.0	8.0	
MILTON ERNEST.										
99a. Mildentone.*										Milton Ernest, 99a. * In Mildeltone two socmen held sixteen acres of land, and paid geld (warram dederunt) in the same vill. . . . These socmen Robert de Olgi added to Clopeham, wrongfully as the men of the Hundred say, because they never lay to it T.R.E.
147. Mildeltone.	4	2	2	6	0	0.0	1.10	1.10	2.0	
197. Mildentone.	3	0	3	0	0	0.0	1.10	1.10	2.0	Milton Ernest, 197. * And four villans [have] two teams and a half, and [there can be another] half team of the villans.
234. Mildentone.	1	0	2	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.5	
333. Mildentone.	0	1	2	40	1	20.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	
377. Mildentone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	
NEWTON BROMSWOLD.										
27. Neuentone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1	Newton Bromswold, 27. * Alwin could not give and sell without leave of Borred.
NORTHILL.										
117. Nortgine[le].	1	0	1	0	1	14.0	1.0	0.10	1.5	
118. Nortgine[le].	5	3	2	100	0	0.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	
177. Nortgible.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	
223. Nortginele.	0	4	7	200	1	13.0	6.0	6.0	8.0	
OAKLEY.										
225. Achelai.	3	5	4	0	1	26.0*	4.0	4.0	4.10	Oakley, 225. * And two hundred eels.
300. Achelai.	3	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	
ODELL.										
73. Wadelle.	7	2	3	50	0	0.0	3.0	5.0	8.0	
236. Wadehelle.	5	5	5	60	1	36.8*	5.0	8.0	10.0	Odell, 236. * And two hundred eels.
PAVENHAM.										
71. Pabencham.	2	0	3	0	1	20.0	1.5	2.0	4.0	
230. Pabencham.*	2	3	0	0	0	0.0	3.0	4.0	6.0	Pavenham, 230. * In right of (de) this land Rannulf, brother of Ilger claims twelve acres of land against Gilbert, son of Salomon, and four acres of meadow against Hugh de Grentmaisnil, whereof Rannulf was wrongfully dis- seised. And the men of the Half Hundred say that that land, which Hugh and Gilbert now hold, lay T.R.E. to the land which Rannulf son of Ilger holds.
277. Pabencham.	1	0	3	0	0	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	Pertenhall, g. h. * This land lies in Bedefordescire, but renders geld and service in Hontedunescire. This the King's servants claim for his use. King Edward had the soke.
PEGSDON.										
54. Pechesdone.	7	5	3	60	2	27.8	10.0	10.0	12.0	
PERTENHALL.										
g. h. Partenhale.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5		0.5	
PODDINGTON.										
237. Podintone.	9	2	1	20	0	0.0	4.10	2.10	2.10	
251. Podintone.	6	1	0	0	0	0.0	1.10	1.10	2.0	Poddington, q. * Sokeland.
q. Potintone.*										
POLEHANGER.										
f. Polehangre.	2*	2	1	2	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	Polehanger, f. * Two cottars.
POTS GRAVE.										
263. Potesgraue.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.15	0.15	2.0	
292. Potesgraue.	6	3	5	0	0	0.0	2.10	5.0	10.0	Potsgrave, 356. * This land [and two others] he holds in the King's service, which did not lie in it T.R.E. But from the time that Ralf Tallgebosc was Sheriff, he says that he he held them by grant of the King.
356. Potesgraue.*										
357. Potesgraua.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	
POTTON.										
309. Potone.*	1	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.2	Potton, 309. * This land Earl Tosti held in his manor of Potton.
313. Potone.	13	3	12	1	1	5.0	12.0	5.0	13.0	Potton, 313. * And it had been of Earl Tosti. † Eighteen villans and two socmen with eight teams. ‡ Pasture for the township's cattle.
PRIESTLEY.										
182. Prestelai.	4	0	2	40	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	3.0	
358. Prestelat.*	0	0	1	20	0	0.0	0.5	0.10	1.10	Priestley, 358. * This land [and five others] Ralf Talgebosc added to the King's service when he was Sheriff, for they were not in it T.R.E. Those who now have them, hold by grant of the King. So they say.
PULLOXHILL.										
195. Polochessele.	13	2	6	100	0	0.0	10.0	8.0	13.0	Pulloxhill, 195. * Roger and Rualon hold Nigel d'Albini holds [sic] Polochessele.
PUTNOE.										
124. Putenchou.	4	2	0	100	1	30.0*	4.0	2.0	2.0	Putnoe, 124. * And a hundred eels.
RADWELL.										
200. Radeuuelle.	6	3	5	0	1	10.0	4.0	4.0	8.0	
305. Radeuuelle.	1	1	1	0	0	0.0	1.0	0.10	2.0	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidge h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMESNE			VILLANS			
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams		
								there	short		there	short	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	
RISELEY.													
25. Riselei.	6	0	7	Bp. Coutances.	2 Frenchmen and 6 Englishmen.	(4 h.) 6 socm., m. of	Burred (2 h.)	0	7	0	6	0	0
38. Riselei.	1	0	1	Bp. Lincoln.	Godfrey.	Godric,thane of	King Edward.	0	1	0	1	0	0
123. Riselei.*	1	0	2	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	...	Aschil, Hugh's antecessor	0	2	0	0	0	0
146. Riselei.	0	2	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Aluric priest.	Wenot, man of	Godric the Sheriff.	0	1	0	0	0	0
271. Riselei.	0	2	1	Osbern* s. of Richard.	Hugh Hubald.	Alwin, man of	Stori.	0	1	0	0	0	0
287. Riselei.	1	0	1	The King.	David de Argentoin.	Homdai, man of	Earl Harold.	0	0	1	1	0	0
ROXTON.													
156. Rochestone.	1	1	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Rualon.	4 socmen, m. of	King Edward.	0	[1]	0	0	0	0
217. Rochestone.	8	3	8	William Spech.	...	12 socmen.	...	4.3	2	0	12	6	0
RUSHDEN.													
35. Risedene.	0	2	1	Bp. Coutances.	Alwold.	Aluric, man of	Borred.	0	1	0	0	0	0
121. Risedene.	0	1	1	William Pevrel.	Malet.	Samar priest, m. of	Ctess. Goda.	0	1	0	0	0	0
SALFORD.													
139. Salford.	5	0	5	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	Turchil,thane of	King Edward.	0	1	0	12	4	0
SALPHO.													
137. Salchou.*	5	0	8	Hugh de Beauchamp.	11 socmen.	Same 11 socmen.	...	0	0	0	0	8	0
SANDY.													
108. Sandele.*	16	1	16	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	...	Ulmar,thane of	King Edward.	8.1	3	0	24	8	5
SEGENHO.													
249. Segenehou.	10	0	10	Walter bro. of Seiher.	...	Levenot,thane of 1 socmen (1/3 hide).	King Edward.	4.0	1	2	24	7	0
SEGREDON.													
255. Segresdone.	0	1		Hugh piucerna.	...	Alwin, man of	Earl Harold.	0	0	0	0	0	0
SEWELL.													
8. Sewelle.*	3	0	2	The King.	...	Walrave, man of	Queen Edith.	0	1 1/2	1/2	1	0	0
SHARNEROOK.													
31. Sernebroc.	0	2	1	Bp. of Coutances.	Turgis englishman.	Alwin, man of	Borret.	0	1	0	1	0	0
32. Sernebroc.	3	0	3	Bp. of Coutances.	7 socmen.	Same 7 socmen, m. of	Borred.	0	3	0	0	0	0
33. Sernebroc.	0	2	1	Bp. of Coutances.	Humfrey.	Aluric, man of	Borred.	0	1	0	0	0	0
34. Sernebroc.	0	2	1	Bp. of Coutances.	...	Borred,thane of	King Edward.	0	0	0	0	0	0
74. Serneburg.	2	0	4	Count Eustace.	Robert, son of Rozelin.	Alwold,thane of	King Edward.	0	2	0	4	2	0
152. Sernebroc.	0	1 1/2	1	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Osbern de Broilg.	3 socmen.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
253. Sernebroc.	0	2 1/2	1	Hugh Fleming.	Robert.	Leuric, man of	Abb. of Ramsey.	0	1	0	0	0	0
275. Sernebroc.*	0	2	1	The King.	Osbern fisher.	Tovi,house-carl of	King Edward.	0	1	0	1	0	0
286. Seruebroc.	2	0 1/2	3	Albert of Lorraine.	...	Algar, man of	Queen Edith.	1.0	2	0	4	1	0
307. Sernebroc.	0	3	1	Countess Judith.	Hugh.	Oviet, man of	King Edward.	0	1	0	1	0	0
352. Sernebroc.*	0	1	1	The King.	Almar.	Almar's father.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
SHELTON (STODO.)													
23. Eseltone.	5	0	6	Bp. Coutances.	Will., his dapifer.	Ulveva* (under)	Borret.	0	2	0	14	4	0
SHELTON (REOB.).													
184. Esseltone.	1	0	1	Nigel d'Albini.	Erfast.	Alward, man of	Alric, s. of Goding.	0	1	0	1	0	0
185. Esseltone.	0	2	1	Nigel d'Albini.	Stephen.	Suglo,* man of	Alric, s. of Goding.	0	1	0	0	0	0
285. Esseltone.*	3	0	5	Albert of Lorraine.	...	Almar, man of	Earl Tosti.	1.0	2	0	7	3	0
330. Eseltone.	0	2	1	The King.	Adeliz de Grentmesnil.	Godwin, man of	Earl Guert.	0	1	0	0	0	0
SHILLINGTON.													
58. Sethlindone.	10	0	14	Abb. Ramsey.	...	...	Abb. Ramsey.	2.0	2	0	27	12	0
SILSOE.													
104. Siuuilessou.	2	0	4	Nigel d'Albini.	Nigel's concubine.	Aluric parvus,thane of	King Edward.	0	1	0	2	2	1
250. Sewilessou.	4	0	10	Walter, bro. of Seiher	Hugh.	Levenot,thane of 3 socmen (1/3 hide)	King Edward.	0	2	0	6	7 1/2	1
SOUTHILL.													
110. Sudguele.	0	0 1/2	1	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	William de Caron.	...	Alric.	0	1	0	0	0	0
120. Sudgible.	2	1	3	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	8 socmen.	...	0	3	0	0	0	0
219. Sudguele.	5	0 1/2	7	William Spech.	2 Frenchmen.	16 socmen.	...	0	4	0	8	3	0
246. Sudguele.	...	...	...	Walter Fleming.	...	...	Walter's antecessor.	...	...	...	...	...	...
247. Sudguele.	0	1	1	Walter Fleming.	Alric.	Lewin,*thane of	The King.	0	1	0	0	0	0
262. Sudguele.	...	...	...	Richard Fungiant.	...	...	Archbp. Stigand.	...	...	...	...	...	...
324. Sudguele.	1	0	2	Countess Judith.	Hugh.	Tuffa, man of	Earl Waltheof.	0	2	0	3	0	0
STAGSDEN.													
15. Stachedene.	3	3	4	Bp. Bayeux.	Herbert s. of Ivo	12 socmen, men of	King Edward.	0	3 1/2	1/2	12	0	0
70. Stachedene.*	0	1	1	Count Eustace.	Godwi englishman	...	...	0	1	[1/2]	0	0	0
125. Stachedene.	5	0	5	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	2 men of 1 man of	King Edward.	2.0	2	0	12	3	0
303. Stachedene.	1	0	1	Countess Judith.	Hugh	2 socmen, men of	Earl Harold.	0	1	0	2	0	0
King Edward.													
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	value s. d.	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
RISELEY.										
25. Riseclat.	7	1	3	200	0	0.0	3.12	3.12	5.0	
38. Riseclat.	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	20	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	
123. Riseclat.*										Riseley, 123.
146. Riseclat.	4	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.8	
271. Riseclat.	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.8	
287. Riseclat.	3	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.10	1.0	1.0	Riseley, 271.
										* Osbert [sic].
ROXTON.										
156. Rochestone.	2	1	1	4	0	0.0	0.10	1.0	1.0	
217. Rochestone.	1	1	3	20	1	33.9*	7.0	2.10	10.0	Roxton, 217.
										* And two hundred and sixty eels.
RUSHDEN.										
35. Risedene.	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	
121. Risedene.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	0.2	
SALFORD.										
139. Salford.	1	4	5	150*	1	9.4	4.0	3.0	5.0	Salford, 139.
										* And from [the] other custom [of the wood] ten shillings.
SALPHO.										
137. Salchou.*	0	0	2	50	0	0.0	5.0	5.0	8.0	Salpho, 127.
										* This land Ralf Taillebose had in exchange for Wares (Ware), as say his men, and when it was taken over was worth eight pounds.
SANDY.										
108. Sandele.*	6	2	16 $\frac{1}{2}$	0	2	50.0	12.0	8.0	10.0	Sandy, 108.
										Here Eudo claims three acres of wood against Hugh de Beauchamp, which Ulmar held, but Ralf [Taillebose] when he was Sheriff disseised him, and therefore Eudo refused to pay tax (dare Warras) for that wood. To this same the men of the Hundred witness.
										† And pasture for the township's cattle.
SEGENHO.										
249. Segenchou.	4	3	8	300*	0	0.0	6.0	10.0	16.0	Segenho, 249.
										* And of the custom of the wood ten rams yearly.
SFGRESDON.										
255. Sgresdone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1		0.2	
SEWELL.										
8. Sewelle.*	4	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	Sewell, 8.
										* It lay in Odecroft Hundred T.R.E. But Ralf Taillebose added it to the manor of Houghton with the leave of King William for the increment which it gave him. Thus say the same Ralf's men, according to what they heard him say.
SHARNBROOK.										
31. Sernebroc.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.15	
32. Sernebroc.	0	0	0	24	0	0.0	1.4	1.4	3.0	
33. Sernebroc.	2	0	0	30	0	0.0	0.6	0.10	1.0	Sharnbrook, 275.
34. Sernebroc.	4	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.5	
74. Serneburg	3	4	2	60	0	0.0	2.0	2.0	4.0	
152. Sernebroc.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	
253. Sernebroc.	1	1	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	1.0	
275. Sernebroc.*	2	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	1.4	1.6	0.10	2.0	
286. Sernebroc.	4	4	2	40	1	16.0	2.10	1.10	3.0	
307. Sernebroc.	1	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	1.0	
352. Sernebroc.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.5	Sharnbrook, 352.
										* This land Almar's father held, and King William rendered it to him by writ.
SHELTON (STODD.)										
23. Esseltone.	5	3	1	4	1	3.0	5.0	3.0	4.0	Shelton (Stodden), 23.
										* Ulveva was not able to give or sell without leave of Borred.
SHELTON (REDB.).										
184. Esseltone.	2	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	40	0	0.0	1.0	0.15	1.0	
185. Esseltone.	2	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	12	0	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.10	
285. Esseltone.*	0	4	$\frac{1}{2}$	100	0	0.0	2.0	1.0	2.5	Shelton (Redbornst.), 285.
330. Esseltone.	1	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	6	0	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.10	* This manor was and is a member of Wootton.
SHILLINGTON.										
58. Sethlindone.	5	4	6	100	1*	0.0	12.0	12.0	12.0	Shillington, 58.
										* Broken (fractum).
SILSOE.										
104. Siluilessou.	3	1	3	50	0	0.0	1.10	1.10	1.10	Silsoe, 250.
250. Siluilessou.	8	4	6	100 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	2.2	8.0	5.0	11.0	
										* This half hide Hugh holds from the King, as they say.
										† Six villans and eight bordars and four serfs with seven teams.
										‡ And two shillings [due from the wood].
SOUTHILL.										
110. Sudgiuele.	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	0.3		0.4	
129. Sudgiuele.	0	0	3	100	0	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.10	Southill, 246.
219. Sudgiuele.	8	6	7	200	0	0.0	4.10	4.0	3.0	
246. Sudgiuele.										Southill, 247.
247. Sudgiuele.	0	0	$\frac{1}{2}$	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.3	0.10	
462. Sudgiuele.										* This land Lewin, thane of the King, held in pledge T.R.E. But after King William came into England, he who pledged it redeemed the land, and Seiler occupied it against the King, as the men of the Hundred bear witness.
344. Sudgiuele.	3	1	2	60	0	0.0	1.10	2.0	3.0	
STAGSDEN.										
15. Stachedene.	6	0	1	40	0	0.0	7.0	9.0	12.0	Southill, 262.
70. Stachedene.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.5	0.10	
123. Stachedene.	8	2	1	100*	0	0.0	5.0	2.0	5.0	Stagsden, 70.
										* There is land for a half team, and one ox ploughs there.
303. Stachedene.	2	0	0	40	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	Stagsden, 125.
										* A park of woodland beasts is there.*
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1085		1066		DEMESNE			VILLANS		
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	TEAMS		number	teams	
								there	short		there	short
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
STANFORD.												
111. Stanford.	4 0	4	Eudo, s. of Hubert.	William de Caron.	Ulmar, thane of (½ h.) 1 socm., m. of Same 7 socmen, m. of 4 socmen.*	King Edward. Ulmar. Ulmar.	0	2	0	3	2	0
112. Stanford			Eudo s. of Hubert.*	7 socmen.								
130. Stanford.	1 0½	1½	Hugh de Beauchamp	...			0	1½	0	4	0	0
169. Stanford.	1 0	1½	Hugh de Beauchamp	Roger.			0	1½	0	4	0	0
220. Stanford	1 0	1	William Spech.	Hugh.	Lemar, thane of	King Edward.	0	1	0	0	0	0
340. Stanford.*	2 0	2	Azelina Tailleb. sc.	Roger.	2 socmen.		0	1	0	2	1+	0
369. Stanford.	0 0½	½	The King.	Alric [wintremelc.]	Same Alric.		0	½	0	0	0	0
370. Stanford.	[0 2½]	½	[The King.]	Ordui.	Same Ordui, man of	The King.	0	½	0	0	0	0
STANWICK.												
51. Stanewlca.	2 2	2½	Abb. Peterborough.	...	...	Abb. Peterborough.	0	1	1½	2	0	0
STAUGHTON, LITTLE.												
24. Estone.*	0 3	1	Bp. of Coutances.	4 socmen.	Same 4 socmen, m. of	Burred.	0	1	0	0	0	0
37. Estone.*	0 2½	1	Bp. of Lincoln.	Will. de Caron.	Alwin Deule, m. of	Bp. of Lincoln.	0	1	0	0	0	0
87. Estone.*	0 1	2	Will. de Warenne.	...	Avigi, man of	Aschil.	0	2	0	1	0	0
88. Estone.*	1 1	1	Will. de Warenne.	...	Avigi.	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
89. Estone.	0 1	½	Will. de Warenne.	...	Blach, man of	Avigi.	0	½	0	0	0	0
90. Estone.	0 1½	1	Will. de Warenne.	Tedric.	Godric, man of	The Sberiff.	0	1	0	0	0	0
145. Estone.*	0 2	3	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Wimund.	Oviet, man of	Aschil.	0	3	0	2	0	0
254. Estone.	2 3	4	The King.	Hugh pincerna.	Wig, thane of 1 socman (½ h.)	King Edward.	1.0	2	0	4	2*	0
256. Estone.	2 0	5	The King.	Sigar de Cloches.	Wig, thane of	King Edward.	2.0*	2	0	6	3	0
270. Estone.	0 2½	1	Osbern s. of Richard.	Hugh Hubald.	Stori, man of 1 socman (½ v.)	Earl Tosti.	0	1	0	0	0	0
STEPPINGLEY.												
210. Stepigetal.	5 0	7	William Spech.	William, s. of Rainald.	Almar, man of 2 socmen, m. of	Aluric of Flicteuice Aluric of Flicteuice.	0	1½	0	14	5½	0
STEVINTON.												
69. Stuentone.	3 0	24	Count Eustace.	Ernuif de Arde.	Adelold, thane of	King Edward.	0	1	3	10	5	15
STONDON.												
60. Standone.	0 2	½	Abb. Ramsey.	...	...	Abb. of Ramsey	0	½	0	0	0	0
346. Standone.	2 2	2½	Azelina Taillebosc.	Engeler.	Ulmar, thane of 5 socmen, men of	King Edward.	0	2	0	0	½	0
STOFOLD.												
133. Stotfalt.*	15 0	15	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	(0½ h.) Aschil, thane of (5½ b.) 7 socmen. (1 b.) St. Alban's Abbey?	King Edward.	5.0	3	0	21	12	0
STRATTON.												
81. Stratone.	1 1½	2	Walter Gifard.	Fulcher of Paris.	3 socmen.	...	0	1	0	1	1*	0
242. Stratone.*	1 1	1½	Walter Fleming.	?	Lewin, thane of	King Edward.	0	0	[1½]	0	0	0
288. Stratone.	4 0	8	The King.	Ralf de Insula.	...	Archbp. Stigand.	0	7	1	10	0	0
310. Stratone	0 3½	2	Countess Judith.	Fulcher of Paris.	Alwin, man of	King Edward.	0	1	0	1	0	0
STREATLEY.												
93. Stradlei.	1 0	2	William de Ow.	Walter.	Godwin, man of	Alestan, King's thane.	0	1	0	2	1	0
143. Straillei.	4 1	6	Hugh de Beauchamp.	William de Locels.	Aschil, thane of (1 h.) 1 socman, m. of	King Edward. Aschil.	0	1	1	7	4	0
196. Stradli.*	4 1½	6	Nigel d'Albini.	Pirot.	Lewin cilt and 3 other thanes of	King Edward.	0	2	0	4	1	3
211. Stradlei.	0 0½	½	William Spech.	Hugh.	Aluric, man of.	Aluric parvus.	0	0	0	0	0	0
364. Stradlei.*	0 0½	½	[The King.]	reeve of the Hundred.	Ulmar priest.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
STUDHAM.												
224. Estodham.	6 0	6	The King.	Baldric from Robert de Todeni.	Osulf, s. of Frane, th. of	King Edward.	0	2	0	10	4	0
SUDBURY.												
258. Subberie.	0 1		Richard s. of Earl Gilbert.	Prior of St. Neot.	Prior of St. Neot.	...	...			
SUNDON.												
91. Sonedone.	10 0	16	William de Ow.	...	Alestan de Boscumbe, thane of	King Edward.	4.0	4	0	20	12	0
92. Sonedone.			...	...	1 soldier.	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
SUTTON.												
109. Suttone.	0 3	3	Eudo, s. of Hubert	Alwin.	2 socmen.	...	0	3	0	1	0	0
314. Sudtone.	1 2	1½	Countess Judith	Torchill.	3 socmen.	...	0	1	½	0	0	0
315. Sudtone.	1 0	1	Countess Judith.	Alwin.	6 socmen.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
316. Sudtone.	0 2	½	Countess Judith.	Levegar.	Same Levegar, m. of	King Edward.	0	½	0	0	0	0
317. Sudtone.	0 3½	1	Countess Judith.	Robert.	2 socmen.	...	0	½	0	0	0	0
318. Sudtone.	0 1½	½	Countess Judith.	Sueting & Robert.	Edward, man of	Abb. St. Albans.	0	1	0	0	1*	0
319. Sudtone.	2 0	2	Countess Judith.	Turbert.	Ulmar, man of	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
320. Sudtone.	0 3	1	Countess Judith.	Godwin.	Same Ederic, m. of	The King.	0	½	0	1	0	0
321. Sudtone.	0 2	½	Countess Judith.	Ederic.	2 socmen.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
363. Sudtone.*	0 1½		The King.	Alwin [reeve.]	Same Alwin (3 v.)	...	0	1	0	0	1*	0
365. Sudtone.	1 0	[2 0]	[The King.]	Alwin [reeve.]	Edward (1 v.)	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

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VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.	
					number	value s. d.	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.		
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	
STANFORD.											
111. Staoford.	0	2	4	60 ⁺	2	29.0 ⁺	4.0	2.0	4.0	Stanford, 111.	* And [from the wood] two shillings. † And fifty eels.
112. Stanford										Stanford, 112.	* The socmen were men of Ulmar, and could give the land [7 acres]. Now Hugh de Beauchamp holds it.
130. Stanford.	1	0	13 ⁺	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.0		
169. Staoforde.	1	0	13 ⁺	16	3	5.0	0.15	0.5	0.10		
220. Staoford.	0	2	1	20	1	5.0	0.15	1.0	1.0	Stanford, 130.	* This land was held by four socmen, of whom three were free, but the fourth had one hide, and could not give nor sell [it].
340. Stanford.*	1	0	2	30 ⁺	1	13.4	3.0	1.0	3.0		
369. Staoford.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.1		
370. Stanford.	0	0	3 ⁺	0	0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.4	Stanford, 340.	* This is of her marriage portion. † Two villans and a bordar with one team.
STANWICK.											
51. Stanwica.	2	0	2	0	0	0.0	1.10	2.10	2.0	Staughton, 24.	* To right of (in) these three virgates, the Bishop claims against Sigard de Cioches twenty acres of wood, which lay to them T.R.E., as the men of the Hundred witness.
STAUGHTON, LITTLE.											
24. Estone.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.5		
37. Estone.*	1	3	1	100	0	0.0	0.15	0.10	0.10	Staughton, 37.	* The soke was always of the Bishop. In right of (in) this land of the Bishopric, William de Caron claims 60 acres between wood and plain against Hugh de Beauchamp, whereof Ralf Taillebose disseised William's father, who held that land T.R.E. as the men of the Hundred say.
87. Estone.*	2	0	1	100	0	0.0	1.0	2.0	1.0		
88. Estone.*	2	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.15		
89. Estone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.3		
90. Estone.	0	0	1	24	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.0		
145. Estone.*	6	0	0	40	0	0.0	1.10	1.0	1.0		
254. Estone.	1	1	1	200	0	0.0	2.0	3.10	2.0	Staughton, 87.	* This land Avigi, man of Aschil, the antecessor of Hugh de Beauchamp, held; he was able to sell to whom he would, but Aschil himself kept the soke in Colmworth his manor. This land Hugh de Beauchamp claims against William de Warenne, as to which all who have [been] sworn from the sheriffwick (vice-comitatu) bear witness that that land does not belong to William.
256. Estone.	12	2	1	60	0	0.0	4.0	3.0	4.0		
270. Estone.	0	1	1	20	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.12		
STEEPLINGLEY.											
210. Stepigclai.	0	2	7	100	0	0.0	4.0	2.0	8.0	Staughton, 88.	* This land Avigi held T.R.E., and could give to whom he would. Afterwards King William granted it to him, and by writ commended him to Ralf Taillebose in order that he should care for Avigi (seruaret eum) so long as he should live. And on the day that he died, he said that he was man of William de Warenne, and therefore William is seised of this land.
STEVINTON.											
69. Stiuentone.	11	2	4	20	0	0.0	14.0	20.0	30.0	Staughton, 145.	* The soke lay always to Culneworde, the manor of Aschil.
STONDON.											
60. Standone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.15	[0.15]	[0.15]	Staughton, 254.	* Four villans and one bordar and one serf with two teams.
346. Standone.	3 ⁺	2	23 ⁺	0	0	0.0	3.0	2.0	4.0	Staughton, 256.	* On the demesne are two carucates of land, besides (preter) the two hides.
STOTFOLD.											
133. Stotfalt.*	14	6	7	0	4	80.0 ⁺	25.0	12.0	20.0	Stoodon, 346.	* Three bordars with a half team.
ST RATTON.											
81. Stratone.	5	0	2	0	0	0.0	1.8	1.8	1.10	Stotfold, 133.	* On the day that Ralf Taillebose died, the manor was at faro for thirty pounds. Of this land one hide belongs to the Church of St. Alban, and lay to it T.R.E., as the men of the Hundred say.
242. Stratone.*	3	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	Stratton, 81.	* And four hundred eels. † One villan and five bordars with one team.
288. Stratone.	2	0	4	0	0	0.0	12.0	4.0	5.0	Stratton, 242.	* This land lies and lay to Langford, the manor of Walter Fleming.
310. Stratone.	5	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.8	0.8	1.0	Streatley, 156.	* Of this land, Pirot holds three hides of the marriage portion of his wife, and one hide and one third he holds in fee from Nigel d'Albini.
STREATLEY.											
93. Stradlei.	3	3	1	20	0	0.0	1.10	1.0	2.0	Streatley, 364.	* In Stradlei the reeve (prefectus) of the Hundred holds two-thirds of a virgate for the King's use; and they now lie to Luitone, the King's manor, but did not lie to it T.R.E. Bondi the Staller added them to that manor, and Ralf Taillebose found them already added to it.
143. Straillei.	5	1	0	16	0	0.0	4.0	2.0	5.0		
196. Stradli.*	4	1	3	20 ⁺	0	0.0	4.0	2.0	6.0	Sutton, 314.	* And [from the meadow] sixteen pence.
211. Stradlei.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	Sutton, 316.	* And [from the meadow] twelve pence.
364. Stradlei.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	Sutton, 319.	* Four bordars with one team.
STUDHAM.											
224. Estodham.	1	4	0	100	0	0.0	4.0	2.0	8.0	Sutton, 363.	* This land [and five others] Ralf Taillebose added to the King's service when he was Sheriff, for they were not in it T.R.E. Those who now have them, hold by grant of the King. So they say.
SUDBURY.											
258. Subberie.										Sutton, 365.	* Three bordars with one team. † And [from the meadow] twelve pence.
SUNDON.											
91. Sonedone.	11	12	4	100	0	0.0	10.0	8.0	20.0		
92. Soedone.											
SUTTON.											
109. Suttone.	0	0	2	0	0	0.0	0.6	0.3	0.10		
314. Suddone.	4	0	13 ⁺	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.8	1.0		
115. Suddone.	3	0	2	0	0	0.0	0.8				
316. Suddone.	0	0	13 ⁺	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.10	0.10		
317. Suddone.	3	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.8	0.8	0.10		
318. Suddone.	1	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.5		
319. Suddone.	4	0	2	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.5		
320. Suddone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.10		
321. Suddone.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10		
363. Suddone.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.5		
365. Suddone.	3	0	2 ⁺	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	0.10		
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii	

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMISENE			VILLANS			
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams		
								there	short		there	short	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	
SWINESHEAD. j, k. Suinesbete.*	3 2	4	William de Warenne.	Eustace. 1 socman.	...	...	E. Siward, later Harold.	0	0	0	7	0	0
l, m. Suinesbete.*	0 2	4	Eustace the Sheriff.	Ralf.	...	...	Furfa.	0	0	0	1	0	0
TEMPSFORD. 41. Tamiseforde. 106. Tamiseforde. 107. Tamiseforde. 261. Tamiseforde. 360. Tamiseforde.*	1 1½ 1 1 4 1 2 0* 1 0½	2 2 4 2 1	Bp. Lincoln. Eudo, s. of Hubert. Eudo, s. of Hubert. Richard Pungiant. [The King.]	Will. de Caron. Will. de Carun. Robert. Richard Pungiant. Alwin reeve.	Alwin Deule, m. of 2 socmen. 3 socmen,* m. of 3 socmen. 6 socmen.	The King. ... Ulmar of Eton.	0 1.0 0 0 0	[2] 1 2 1 0	0 1 0 8 4	1 1 2 1 0	0 0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0 0	
THURLEIGH. 100. Lalega. 153. Lalega. 228. Lalega.* 229. Lalega. 240. Lalega. 241. Lalega.	0 1 0 2 0 2 0 1 3 0 0 2	1 2 2 1 7 2	Miles Crispin. Hugh de Beauchamp Robert d' Oilgi. Robert d' Oilgi. Walter Fleming. Walter Fleming.	Leuric. Leuic. Richard Basset. Salomon priest. Hugh. Raynald.	Same Leuric, m. of Moding, man of Oviot, thane of Alwin, man of Leuenot, thane of Ordric, man of	Brixtric. Queen Edith. King Edward. Bishop Wlwi. King Edward. Leuenot.	0 0 0 0 0 0	1 2 1 1 2 1	0 0 1 0 8 0	0 0 1 0 5 0	0 0 0 0 0 1*	0 0 0 0 0 0	
TILLBROOK. 85. Tilebroc.*	5 0	6	Will. de Warenna.	(20 socmen.)	Same 20 socmen	of the King's soke.	0	6	0	0	0	0	0
TILLSWORTH. 120. Thlleworde.	10 0	8	The King.	Ambrose from Will. Peverel.	Leuric, s. of Osmond thane of	King Edward.	0	1	1	10	6	0	0
TINGRITH. 181. Tingrel.	2 1	3	Nigel d'Albini.	Turgis.	2 thanes.	...	0	1	0	4	2	0	0
TODDINGTON. 101. Dodintone.	15 2	30	The King.	Ernulf de Hesding.	...	Wluuard Leuuet.	7	3	42	20	0	0	0
TOTTERNOE. 233. Totenehou.* 265. Totenehou.*	10 0 5 0 6 3	10 5 6	Walter Fleming. ... The King.	Osbert. [unnamed men.] William chamberlain.	Leuenot, thane of ... Lewin, man of	King Edward. ... Earl Wallef.	0 ... 3.3	2 ... 1	0 ... 0	22 ... 4	4 ... 3	4 ... 0	4 ... 0
TURVEY. 17. Torueie. 29. Tornal.* 72. Torueie. 151. Toruei. 201. Torneia. 226. Toruei. 235. Tornei. 379. Toruei.*	1 0 4 0 1 0 1 0 1 0½ 2 1 1 0 0 0½	1 6 2 2 1 4½ 2 4	Bp. Bayeux. Bp. Coutances. Count Eustace. Hugh de Beauchamp. Nigel d'Albini. Robert de Todeni. Walter Fleming. The King.	Wimund from Herbert, s. of Ivo. ... Ernulf de Arde. Warner. Nigel de Wast. 2 soldiers. Hugh. Alwin priest.	1 man of 3 socmen, m. of Alwold, thane of 2 socmen. Aluuard, man of Oulf s. of Frane th. of Leuenot, thane of Same Alwin.	Alwold de Stuetone. King Edward. King Edward. ... Bishop Wluui. King Edward. King Edward. ...	0 2.0 0 0 0 0 0 0	1 3 1 1 1½ 2 1 1	0 0 1 1 0 0 0 0	0 3 3 1 0 3 2 0	0 0 0 0 0 1* 0 0	0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	
WARDON. 221. Wardone. 291. Wardone.* 341. Wardone.*	9 0 0 1½ 0 2	9 1 4	The King. The King. Azelina Taillebos.	William Spech. Ralf de Insula. Walter monachus.	8 socmen. ... Goding, man of	... ... Edric calvus.	3.2 ... 0	1 ... 0	1 ... 0	18 ... 0	7 ... 0	0 ... 0	0 ... 0
WESTCOTTS. 191. Wescote. 372. Wescota.	2 3 0 1	6 4	Nigel d'Albini. The King.	... Ordui.	7 socmen. Same Ordui, m. of	... The King.	0 0	5 5	1 0	5 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
WESTONING. e. Westone.*	5 0	14	King William.	...	...	Earl Harold.	2.0	2	0	16+	5	5	5
WILDEN. 18. Wildene.	5 0	16	Bp. of Bayeux.	Herbert, s. of Ivo, and Hugh his nephew from him. (20 socmen.)	24 socmen.	...	0	0	3	20*	10	3	3
WILLINGTON. 132. Welltone.	10 0	9	Hugh de Beauchamp.	...	Aschil, thane of 8 socmen (7 h.)	King Edward.	5.0	3	1	13	5	0	0
WILSAMSTEAD. 296. Winessamstede.*	3 0	6	Countess Judith.	Abhess of Elstow.	8 socmen.	...	0	2	0	11	4	0	0
WOVERN. 75. Woburne. 356. Woberne.*	10 0 0 3	24 3	Walter Gifard. [The King.]	Hugh de Bolehec. Herbert, Kg.'s reeve.	Alric, thane of 6 socmen (2 h.) [v. Eversholt, 356].	King Edward.	0	2	2	8	6	14	14
WOTTON. 284. Otone.	10 0	11	Albert of Lorraine.	...	Almar, man of	Earl Tosti.	2.0	3	0	20	7	1	1
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	value s. d.	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
SWINESHEAD.										
j k. Swineshefet.*	5	0	†	‡	0	0.0	2.0			
l, m. Swineshefet.*	0	0	†	‡	0	0.0	0.6		0.15	
TEMPSFORD.										
41. Tamisforde.	0	0	1	0	2*	40.0	3.0	2.0	5.0	
106. Tamisforde.	2	1	2	0	1	10.0	2.0	2.0	2.5	
107. Tamisforde.	0	6	4	0	1	12.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	
261. Tamisforde.	0	0	1	0	0	0.0	1.10	1.0	1.0	
360. Tamisforde.*	0	0	‡	0	0	0.0	1.0	1.0	1.7	
THURLEIGH.										
100. Lalega.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	
153. Lalega.	4	1	0	30	0	0.0	1.10	0.15	1.10	
228. Lalega.*	3	2	0	30	0	0.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	
220. Lalega.	1	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.10	
240. Lalega.	12	3	0	150	0	0.0	5.0	3.0	4.0	
241. Lalega.	4	0	0	0	0	0.0	1.0	0.10	0.5	
TILLBROOK.										
85. Tilebroc.*	4	0	5	0	0	0.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	
TILLSWORTH.										
120. Thilleworde.	6	3	6	100*	0	0.0	6.0	4.0	10.0	
TINGRITH.										
181. Tingrel.	2	0	3	150	0	0.0	3.0	1.10	5.0	
TODDINGTON.										
101. Doddintouc.	19	19	30	300	0	0.0	25.0	25.0	30.0	
TOTTERNHOE.										
233. Totenehou.*	2	4	4	150	3	10.8	8.0	10.0	16.0	
265. Totenehou.*	4	4	3	20	1	3.0	2.10	2.10	8.0	
TURVEY.										
17. Torueie.	0	0	‡	0	0	0.0	1.0	2.0	2.0	
29. Tornai.*	8	1	2	40	1	20.0	6.0	2.0	6.0	
72. Torueie.	1	0	1	0	0	0.0	0.10	1.0	1.0	
151. Toruei.	4	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	1.0	
201. Torneia.	5	0	1	20	0	0.0	0.13	0.13	1.10	
226. Toruei.	6	2	1	10	0	0.0	2.0	3.0	3.10	
235. Tornei.	8	1	1	40	0	0.0	1.10	0.10	2.0	
379. Toruei.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	
WARDON.										
221. Wardone.	4	4	6	0	1	12.0	6.0	6.0	8.0	
291. Wardone.*										
341. Wardone.*	1	0	‡	40	0	0.0	0.10	1.0	1.0	
WESTCOTTS.										
191. Wescote.	11	0	2	100*	0	0.0	3.0	2.0	6.0	
372. Wescota.	1	1	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	
WESTONING.										
e. Westone.*	3	4	7‡	400§	0	0.0				
WILDEN.										
18. Wildene.	12	1	6	6	0	0.0	9.0	12.0	20.0	
WILLINGTON.										
132. Welltone.	0	8	5	40	1	12.0*	7.0	2.0	6.0	
WILSAMSTEAD.										
296. Winessamestedc.*	11	1	‡	0	0	0.0	7.6	2.8	10.10	
WOBURN.										
75. Woburne.	7	4	6	100	0	0.0	5.0	12.0	15.0	
356. Woberne.*										
WOTTON.										
284. Otone.	0	6	5	400	0	0.0	10.0	8.0	10.15	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

Swineshead, j, k.

* [It is] a soke. The men of the county witness that King Edward gave Swineshefet, sake and soke to Earl Siward. And Earl Harold held it thus, save that they paid geld in the Hundred, and in the army marched with them [the men of the Hundred].

† Sixteen acres of meadow.

‡ Grazing woodland, one league long and four furlongs broad.

Swineshead, l, m.

* The soke was the King's.

† Three acres of meadow.

‡ Grazing wood one league in length and one furlong in breadth.

Tempsford, 41.

* And a hundred and twenty eels.

Tempsford, 107.

* One of them could not give his land without leave of his lord: the other two could do what they would.

Tempsford, 261.

* Of the King's fee.

Tempsford, 360.

* This land [and five others] Ralf Talcebosc added to the King's service when he was Sheriff, for they were not in it T.R.E. Those who now have them, hold by a grant of the King. So they say.

Thurleigh, 228.

* This land the men of Eudo claim on account of their lord's antecessor, all of whose lands King William gave to him [sibi].

Thurleigh, 241.

* Four bordars with one team.

Tillbrook, 85.

* This manor the very same socmen held as hold it now, and they were so of the King's soke and sake that they could give and sell their land to whom they would, and could withdraw to another lord without leave of him under whom they had been. This land of Tilebroc Hugh de Beauchamp claims against Wilam [de Warenne], and the men of the Hundred bear witness thereof that Ralf Tallebosc, his [Hugh's] predecessor, was seized of it by the King, and held it.

Tillsworth, 120.

* This wood Oswi took away, and the Hundred says that (quia) it lay to this manor T.R.E.

Toddington, 101.

* There are ten carucates of land in demesne . . . besides (preter) the fifteen hides and a half.

Totternhoe, 233.

* Answered for fifteen hides T.R.E. But after that King William came into England, it answered only for ten hides. And the men who held and held the [other] five hides withheld and withheld all the King's customs and rent (gahum).

Totternhoe, 265.

* William chamberlain claims as belonging to (cum) this manor two hides which his antecessor held T.R.E., as the Hundred witnesses. But the Bishop of Bayeux took them away from him by force, and gave them to Adelulf his chamberlain.

Turvey, 29.

* This land the Bishop has in exchange for Eldone, as his men say.

Turvey, 235.

* Eight bordars and one serf with one team.

Turvey, 379.

* The same Alwin priest held it T.R.E., and could make of it what he would. But King William afterwards granted it in alms to him (sibi), for which he says mass for the soul of the King and Queen on the second day of every week.

Wardon, 291.

* This land lies to Bicheleswade, and is there assessed (appreciata). And he who held it T.R.E. could not give or sell without the leave of him who held Bicheleswade.

Wardon, 341.

* This is of her marriage portion.

Westcotts, 191.

* And iron for [?] a plough.

Westoning, e.

* This manor Earl Harold held, and it lay and lies to Hiz [Hitchin]. But the assessment (warā) of this manor lay in Bedefordscire T.R.E. in the Hundred of Mansheve, and the manor is there and always was. And after the death of King Edward it did not acquit itself of the King's geld.

† 16 villans with 3 bordars have 5 teams.

‡ Pasture for the cattle of the vill.

§ And [from the wood] 3 shillings.

Wilden, 18.

* The villans have ten teams, and there might be yet three. There are twenty socmen and twelve bordars and one serf.

Willington, 132.

* And a hundred eels.

Wilshamstead, 296.

* Countess Judith gave it to St. Mary of Elstow in alms, but the soke lay always to Camestone.

Woburn, 356.

* This land [and two others] he holds in the King's service, which did not lie in it T.R.E., but from the time that Ralf Tallebosc was Sheriff he says that he held them by grant of the King.

TABLE I: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	1086		1066		DEMESNE			VILLANS		
			TENANT IN CHIEF	SUB-TENANT	TENANT	OVERLORD	h.v.	teams		number	teams	
								there	short		there	short
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii
WYBOSTON.												
55. Wiboldestone.	0 1½	-	Abb. Ramsey.	Eudo dapifer.	...	Abb. Ramsey.	0	0	0	0	0	0
104. Wiboldestone.	6 3	5	Eudo, son of Hubert.	...	4 thanes of	King Edward.	4.2	2	0	8	4	0
154. Wiboldestone.	0 0½	-	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Wimund.	Aschil,thane of	King Edward.	0	0	0	0	0	0
202. Wiboldestone.*	9 1	9	Nigel d'Albini.	Pirot.	12 socmen.	...	0	4	0	12	5	0
259. Wiboldestone.	2 0½	½	Richard, s. of Gilbert.	Prior of St. Neot.	Prior of St. Neot.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
337. Wiboldestone.	1 1½	1	Azelina Taillebos.	Judichel.	Almar, man of	Ulmar.	0	1	0	1	0	0
WYMINGTON.												
214. Wimentone.	0 3	½	William Spech.	Walter.	Leuric, man of	Borgred.	0	0	0	0	0	0
232. Wimentone.*	3 0	4	Alured de Lincoln.	Gleu.	...	Godwin franpold.	0	1	1	1	2½	0
238. Wimentone.	4 0	5	Walter Fleming.	Osbert.	Lant, man of	Levenot, King's thane.	0	3	0	1	1*	0
					1 socman (1 h.)	...						
239. Wimentone.*	0 2	½	Walter Fleming.	Osbert.	...	Godwin franpold.	0	0	0	0	0	0
367. Wimentone.	0 3	1	The King.	moth. & 5 bros.*	Lant, their father.	...	0	0	0	0	0	0
381. Wimentone.	1 0	1	The King.	Turchill.	Same Turchill.	...	0	1	0	0	0	0
YILDEN.												
22. Giveldene.	10 0	15	Bp. of Coutances.	Goisfrid de Trailly.	5 socmen (5 h.)	Borred.	0	4	0	17*	11	0
BARFORD HUND.												
308. Unnamed.	2 3	3	[Countess Judith.]	Osbern.	Ulfec, steersman of	King Edward.	0	2	0	3	1	0
BIGGLES. HUND.												
203. Unnamed.	0 2	1	Nigel d'Albini.	Fulcher of Paris.	Samar, man of	Lewin.	0	1	0	0	0	0
MANSU. HUND.												
180. Unnamed.	1 0	1	Nigel d'Albini.	Turgis.	Suglo, man of	Alric, s. of Goding.	0	1	0	0	0	0
STODD. HUND.												
376. Unnamed.	0 2	1	The King.	Turgot and mother.	Turgot's f., th. of	The King.	0	1	0	1	0	0
WILEY HUND.												
28. Unnamed.*	4 0	5	Bp. of Coutances.	Goisfrid de Trailly.	Turbert, man of	King Edward.	0	2	0	14	3	0
380. Unnamed.	0 2	½	The King.	Osiet, King's reeve.	1 socman *	...	0	½	0	0	0	0
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii

TABLE 1: SYNTHESIS OF THE VILLS

33

VILL	Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	MILLS		VALET			SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS. SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.
					number	s. d.	1086 li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.	
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii
WYBOSTON.										
55. Wiboldestone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.1½*			Wyboston, 55.
104. Wiboldestone.	8	3	2	0	0	0.0	3.0	1.0	10.0	* It is wasted, nevertheless is worth sixteen pence.
154. Wiboldestone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.2	0.2	* Pirot holds from the King of the fee of Nigel [d'Albini].
202. Wiboldestane.*	6	0	2	0	0	0.0	6.0	4.0	10.0	
250. Wiboldestone.	0	0	0	100	0	0.0	0.11	0.11	1.1	Wymington, 232.
337. Wiboldestone.	2	0	½	0	0	0.0	0.10	0.5	1.10	* As belonging to (cum) these three hides Alured claims against Walter Fleming a half hide, of which he wrongfully disseised him as the men of the Hundred bear witness thereon. Of this his antecessor was seised T.R.E., and Alured himself was afterwards seised.
WYMINGTON.										Again, as belonging to (cum) this land Alured claims against the Bishop of Coutances wood for a hundred swine, which his antecessor had T.R.E., but the Bishop wrongfully disseised him, as the men of the Hundred witness.
314. Wimentone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.10	0.10	† One villan and 6 bordars and 3 serfs with 2 teams.
232. Wimentone.*	6	3	2	0	0	0.0	2.0	2.10	3.0	
238. Wimentone.	8	4	2	0	0	0.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	
239. Wimentone.*	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.2	0.4	0.10	
307. Wimentone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.3		0.15	
381. Wimentone.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.5	0.5	0.10	
YILDEN.										
22. Giveldene.	12	1	4	20	0	0.0	9.0	5.0	8.0	Wymington, 238.
BARFORD HUND.										
308. Unnamed.	2	1	1	200	0	0.0	2.0	0.10	2.10	Wymington, 239.
BIGGLES. HUND.										
203. Unnamed.	0	1	1	0	0	0.0	0.7	0.10	1.10	Wymington, 367
MANSH. HUND.										
180. Unnamed.	0	2	0	10	0	0.0	0.15	0.10	1.0	Yielden, 22.
STODD. HUND.										
376. Unnamed.	2	0	0	4	0	0.0	0.10	0.10	0.12	Unnamed, 28.
WILLEY HUND.										
28. Unnamed.*	5	4	4	0	0	0.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	Unnamed, 380.
380. Unnamed.	0	0	0	0	0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.3	* This land one socman held T.R.E., whom King William commended to the reeve with this land so that he should provide him with victual and clothing so long as he should live.
Column i	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	xxi	xxii	xxiii

SUPPLEMENTARY DETAILS.

SPECIAL PHASES, ETC.

xxiii

Wyboston, 55.

* It is wasted, nevertheless is worth sixteen pence.

Wyboston, 202.

* Pirot holds from the King of the fee of Nigel [d'Albini].

Wymington, 232.

* As belonging to (cum) these three hides Alured claims against Walter Fleming a half hide, of which he wrongfully disseised him as the men of the Hundred bear witness thereon. Of this his antecessor was seised T.R.E., and Alured himself was afterwards seised. Again, as belonging to (cum) this land Alured claims against the Bishop of Coutances wood for a hundred swine, which his antecessor had T.R.E., but the Bishop wrongfully disseised him, as the men of the Hundred witness.

† One villan and 6 bordars and 3 serfs with 2 teams.

Wymington, 238.

* One villan and eight bordars and four serfs with one team.

Wymington, 239.

* This same land Alured of Lincoln claims against Walter Fleming.

Wymington, 367

* [?] Of the King's gift (de do[no] Regis).

Yielden, 22.

* And one soldier.

Unnamed, 28.

* This land the Bishop has in exchange for Bledone, as his men say.

Unnamed, 380.

* This land one socman held T.R.E., whom King William commended to the reeve with this land so that he should provide him with victual and clothing so long as he should live.

TABLE II: SYNTHESIS OF THE HUNDREDS

VILL.	Hidge h. v.	Team-lands	Socmen, T.R.E.	DEMESNE			VILLANS			Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	Mills	VALET					
				Hidge h. v.	teams		number	teams							1086		Q.R.		T.R.E.	
					there	short		there	short						li. s.	of 1066	li. s.	of 1066		
																				li. s.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	
Barford, Great ...	12.0	20	11	...	11	...	21	9	...	25	8	5	...	2	9.0	81	5.10	50	11.0	
Chawston ...	10.0	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	22	6	...	4	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	70	1	7.5	63	5.10	47	11.10
Colnworth ...	5.0	10	8	...	2	...	12	8	...	13	1	...	200	...	5.0	125	5.0	125	4.0	
Eaton Socon ...	20.0	16	2	7.2	4	...	38	12	...	7	8	12	400	2	15.0	150	8.0	80	10.0	
Goldington ...	10.1	11	12	...	9	...	17	2	...	3	3	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	7.16	75	5.11	53	10.6
Roxton ...	10.0	9	16	4.3	3	...	12	6	...	3	2	4	24	1	7.10	68	3.10	31	11.0	
Salpho ...	5.0	8	11	8	2	50	...	5.0	62	5.0	62	8.0
Sudbury ...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Wilden ...	5.0	16	24	...	0	3	...	10	3	12	1	6	6	...	9.0	45	12.0	60	20.0	
Wyboston ...	20.0	15 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	4.2	7	...	21	9	...	16	3	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	100	...	10.4 $\frac{1}{2}$	44	5.18	26	22.13	
Unnamed, 308 ...	2.3	3	...	...	2	...	3	1	...	2	1	1	200	...	2.0	80	0.10	20	2.10
Total ...	100.1	117 $\frac{1}{2}$	110	16.3	40 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	146	71	3	85	28	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	1050	7	77.15 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	56.9	...	110.19
HUNDRED OF BARFORD.																				
Astwick ...	2.2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	6+	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	10	...	1	...	2	3.6	100	2.11	77	3.6
Barford, Little ...	8.0	8	...	...	3	...	13	5	...	6	8	3	...	1	7.0	100	5.0	71	7.0
Biggleswade ...	10.0	10	2	5.2	3	...	7	7	...	10	3	10	...	2	17.0	170	15.0	150	10.0	
Dunton ...	10.0	10	4	4.1	5	...	16	5	...	4	3	...	50	...	9.13	126	7.13	100	7.13	
Edworth ...	10.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	2	...	5	...	10	5	...	2	5	2	...	...	9.10	82	11.10	100	11.10
Eyworth ...	10.0	10	20	5.2	4	...	13	6	...	3	6	10	...	1	7.10	88	7.10	88	8.10	
Holme ...	7.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	...	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	12	...	3	...	4	...	...	6.11	87	5.0	66	7.10
Kenemondwick ...	3.3	4	2	1.3	2	...	6	2	...	...	...	1	...	1	3.0	75	1.10	37	4.0
Langford ...	10.0	10	1	4.1	4	...	1	12	9	2	7	5	16	16	2	15.10	103	10.0	66	15.0
Millo ...	10.0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	3.2	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	12	2	...	5	1	...	...	7.10	88	7.10	88	8.10
Stratton ...	7.2	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	...	9	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	1	...	15	...	8	...	...	14.6	178	6.6	78	8.0
Tempsford ...	10.0	11	14	1.0	7	...	17	4	...	2	7	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	4	10.10	83	8.0	63	12.12
Unnamed, 203 ...	0.2	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	0.7	23	0.10	33	1.10
Total ...	100.0	119 $\frac{1}{2}$	77	25.3	64 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	132	48 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	67	39	64	76	13	111.13	...	88.0	...	105.1	
HUNDRED OF BIGGLESWADE.																				
Biddenham ...	10.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	11	...	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	10	2	...	5	5	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	6.12	100	5.12	84	6.12
Bletsoe ...	5.0	8	3	...	2	...	13	6	...	5	5	2	200	1	6.0	100	6.0	100	6.0	
Brouham ...	9.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	21	4	...	7	6	10	40	2	9.0	156	7.0	121	5.15
Chainhalle ...	5.2	6	...	2.0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	12	3	...	11	5	3	100	1	8.2	114	5.2	71	7.2
Pavenham ...	10.0	12	...	1.0	2	4	15	4	...	2	5	3	12	...	6.5	51	8.0	65	12.5	
Putnoe ...	4.0	5	...	2.0	2	...	6	3	...	4	2	...	100	1	4.0	200	2.0	100	2.0	
Stagsden ...	10.0	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	14	2.0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	26	3	...	16	2	2	180	...	12.12	68	11.15	63	18.10
Stevinton ...	3.0	24	...	...	1	3	10	5	15	11	2	4	20	...	14.0	46	20.0	66	30.0
Total ...	57.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	86 $\frac{1}{2}$	28	7.0	29 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	113	30	17	64	30	42 $\frac{1}{2}$	640	8	66.11	...	65.9	...	88.4	
HALF HUNDRED OF BUCKLEY.																				
Arlesey ...	15.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	3	...	5	...	21	9	1	15	2	10	...	3	14.17	92	14.17	92	16.0	
Campton ...	7.0	6	9	1.12	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	7	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	60	1	4.15	83	2.15	47	5.15
Chicksand ...	4.2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	...	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	70	1	2.1	72	2.1	72	2.17
Clifton ...	13.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	9	7	...	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	12	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	7.10	60	6.5	50	12.10
Cudsand ...	5.2	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	1	2	...	4	1	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	44	...	3.0	60	2.0	44	4.10
Henlow ...	12.0	12 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	...	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	19	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	6	7	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	2	11.5	83	8.5	61	13.10
Holwell ...	10.0	10	...	4.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	...	19	7	...	5	5	2	...	2	9.0	100	9.0	100	9.0	
Meppershall ...	4.0	4	4	5.0	3	2	5	2	...	4	2	7	200	...	6.0	60	6.0	60	10.0	
Shillington ...	10.0	14	...	2.0	2	...	27	12	...	5	4	6	100	1	12.0	100	12.0	100	12.0	
Stondon ...	3.0	3	5	...	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	...	3	2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	3.15	78	2.15	57	4.15
Stotfold ...	15.0	15	7	5.0	3	...	21	12	...	14	6	7	...	4	25.0	125	12.0	60	20.0	
Total ...	99.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	96 $\frac{1}{2}$	64	17.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	36 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	132	56	1	58	34	67 $\frac{1}{2}$	474	16	99.3	...	77.18	...	110.17	
HUNDRED OF CLIFTON.																				
Barton ...	11.0	12	...	3.0	2	1	20	9	...	7	6	6	200	1	10.0	83	10.0	83	12.0	
Biscot ...	5.0	5	...	...	2	...	10	3	...	...	3	4	...	...	2.0	66	2.0	66	3.0
Caddington ...	5.0	6	...	2.0	2	4	1	...	...	...	4	2	...	...	2.0	40	0.10	10	5.0
Cainhoe ...	5.0	8	1	2.3	3	2	4	3	...	6	5	9	200	1	4.0	66	2.0	33	6.0	
Clophill ...	5.0	8	...	3.0	2	...	5	6	...	5	1	4	200	...	3.0	37	1.10	18	8.0	
Flitton ...	5.0	6	...	2.0	2	...	3	2	2	3	4	6	50	...	3.0	60	3.0	60	5.0	
Gravenhurst ...	3.2	4	5	...	2	...	4	1	1	3	4	4	100	...	3.0	60	3.0	60	5.0	
Hawnes ...	5.0	8	...	2.2	3	...	14	5	...	9	1	1	500	...	10.0	143	7.0	100	7.0	
Higham Gobion... ..	8.0	11	5	...	4	...	14	7	...	2	5	6	100	...	8.0	66	8.0	66	12.0	
Pegsdon ...	10.0	14	...	2.0	2	1	37	11	...	7	5	3	60	2	10.0	83	10.0	83	12.0	
Pulloxhill ...	10.0	13	8	...	2	2	11	9	...	13	2	6	100	...	10.0	77	8.0	61	13.0	
Silsoe ...	6.0	14	3	...	3	...	8	9	2	11	5	9	150	1	9.10	76	6.10	52	12.10	
Streatley ...	9.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	...	4	1	13	6	3	12	5	4	56	...	9.17	72	5.7	39	13.12	
Sundon ...	10.0	16	...	4.0	5	...	20	12	...	11	12	4	100	...	10.0	50	8.0	40	20.0	
Total ...	98.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	139 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	21.1	38	11	164	83	8	93	60	66	1566	5	94.7	...	74.17	...	134.2	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	

HUNDRED OF BARFORD.

HUNDRED OF
BIGGLESWADE.HALF HUNDRED OF
BUCKLEY.

HUNDRED OF CLIFTON.

HUNDRED OF FLITT.

TABLE II: SYNTHESIS OF THE HUNDREDS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	Socmen, T.R.E.	DEMESNE				VILLANS				Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	Mills	VALET				
				Hidage h. v.	teams		number	teams		Bordars	1086					Q.R.		T.R.E. li. s.		
					there	short		there	short		li. s.					of 1066	li. s.		of 1066	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	
Aspley Guise	... 10.0	12	...	...	2	1	16	8	1	4	5	10	50	1	8.0	80	5.0	50	10.0
Battlesdon	... 10.0	10	9	...	3	1½	9	5	...	11	...	9	...	...	6.5	59	6.5	59	10.7
Chalgrave	... 8.1	10	...	...	...	2	13	8	...	4	6	8	50	...	7.2	116	0.2	100	6.2
Eversholt	... 9.0	10	5	...	3	1	20	6	...	1	4	9	150	...	6.6	105	5.10	91	6.0	
Harlingdon	... 5.0	10	...	...	3½	2	12	5	...	6	10	4	400	...	6.0	60	4.0	44	9.0
Hockliffe	... 10.0	8	...	5.0	2	...	13	6	...	11	...	4	100	...	8.0	66	8.0	66	12.0	
Holcote	... 4.0	3	...	...	1	...	5	2	...	8	1	...	50	1	3.0	150	1.0	50	2.0
Husborne Crawley	... 10.0	10	...	2.0	4	...	6	2	4	10	3	10	...	2	3.10	35	3.10	35	10.0	
Milton Brian	... 10.0	10	7	...	4	1	10	5	...	6	12	10	70	...	10.0	100	8.0	80	10.0	
Potsgrave	... 10.0	9	...	3.0	4½	...	3	2	2½	6	3	6	...	...	3.10	28	6.0	48	12.10
Priestley	... 2.2	3	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	4	...	3	60	...	1.5	27	1.10	33	4.10
Salford	... 5.0	5	...	...	1	...	12	4	...	1	4	5	150	1	4.0	80	3.0	60	5.0
Tingrith	... 2.1	3	...	...	1	...	4	2	...	2	...	3	150	...	2.0	40	1.10	30	5.0
Toddington	... 15.2	30	...	...	7	3	42	8	...	19	19	30	300	...	25.0	83	25.0	83	30.0
Woburn	... 10.3	24	6	...	2	2	8	6	14	7	4	6	100	...	5.0	33	12.0	80	15.0	
Unnamed, 180	... 1.0	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	10	...	0.15	75	0.10	50	1.0
Total	... 123.1	158	27	10.0	41	13½	175	81	21½	100	73	117	1640	5	99.13	96.17			148.9	

HUNDRED OF MANSHEAD.

Amphill ...	5.0	8	7	...	2	...	6	4	2	2	1	6	300	...	4.0	100	2.0	50	4.0
Cranfield ...	10.0	12	...	2.0	2	...	18	10	...	2	5	2	1000	...	9.0	75	9.0	75	12.0
Elstow ...	3.2	7	4	...	2	...	14	5	...	11	4	4	60	1	5.0	50	2.0	20	10.0
Flitwick ...	5.0	7	...	2.0	2	...	3	3	2	7	...	5	100	1	2.10	31	3.0	37	8.0
Houghton Conquest ...	10.0	13	10	...	9	...	19	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	15	5	8	450	...	9.10	60	8.10	54	15.12
Kempston ...	10.0	20	...	2.0	4	...	18	12	4	12	8	20	200	1	18.0	60	22.0	73	30.0
Lidlington ...	10.0	11	...	2.0	2	1	23	8	...	16	7	8	400	...	8.0	66	8.0	66	12.0
Marston Moretaine ...	10.0	13	21	...	4	...	20	10	...	7	4	11	600	...	9.10	59	6.0	37	16.0
Maulden ...	9.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	15	5	...	1	2	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	170	1	6.3	50	6.18	57	12.2
Millbrook ...	5.0	6	...	...	2	...	4	4	...	2	...	2	100	2	3.0	60	1.10	30	5.0
Segenho ...	10.0	10	1	4.0	1	2	24	7	...	4	3	8	300	...	6.0	37	10.0	62	16.0
Shelton ...	5.0	7	...	1.0	4	...	8	5	...	5	5	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	158	...	3.12	84	2.4	51	4.5
Steppingley ...	5.0	7	2	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	14	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	2	7	100	...	4.0	50	2.0	25	8.0
Westcotts ...	3.0	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1	5	...	...	12	1	2	100	...	3.5	50	2.5	34	6.10
Wilsamstead ...	3.0	6	...	...	2	...	11	4	...	11	1	...	...	...	7.6	60	2.5	21	10.10
Wootton ...	10.0	11	...	2.0	3	...	20	7	1	...	6	5	400	...	10.0	63	8.0	74	10.15
Total ...	114.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	155	63	15.0	51 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	222	91	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	107	54	103 $\frac{1}{2}$	4438	6	108.16	95.12			180.14

HUNDRED OF REDBORNSTOKE.

Eaton Bray ...	12.1	20	...	2.0	4	2	20	8	6	13	2	6	300	...	16.0	80	20.0	100	20.0
Edlesborough ...	10.0	7	...	5.0	4	...	10	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.10	55	5.10	55	10.0
Gladley ...	2.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	100	1	1.0	50	1.0	50	2.0
Studham ...	6.0	6	...	...	2	...	10	4	...	1	4	...	100	...	4.0	50	2.0	25	8.0
Tilsworth ...	10.0	8	...	...	1	1	10	6	...	6	3	6	100	...	6.0	60	4.0	40	10.0
Totterhoe ...	21.3	16	...	3.3	3	...	26	7	4	6	8	7	170	4	10.10	43	12.10	52	24.0
Total ...	62.2	58	...	10.3	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	76	29	10	26	17	20	770	5	43.0	45.0			74.0

HALF HUNDRED OF STANBRIDGE.

Bolnhurst ...	4.2	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	2.1	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	11	5	...	14	...	3	180	...	5.5	59	4.0	45	8.16
Clapham ...	5.0	30	...	5.0	8	2	18	20	...	15	4	6	200	1	24.0	200	24.0	200	12.0
Dean ...	10.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	15	20	...	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	18	...	...	19	5	1	...	...	8.1	123	7.11	115	6.11
Elvendon ...	1.1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	34	...	0.10	60	0.10	60	0.15
Hanefeld ...	1.0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	75	0.15	75	1.0
Keysoe ...	5.0	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	12	...	5	...	9	...	...	6	1	4	203	1	5.2	98	4.2	78	5.4
Knotting ...	5.0	5	...	3.0	2	...	8	3	...	5	4	2	400	...	4.0	133	3.0	100	3.0
Melcbourne ...	10.0	10	6	3.0	3	...	13	7	...	15	3	3	100	...	8.0	133	5.0	83	6.0
Milton Ernest ...	10.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	...	6	...	15	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	3	9	46	1	7.1	75	7.1	75	9.6
Newton Bromswold ...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	75	0.1	75	0.1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Oakley ...	5.0	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	4	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	7	4	...	6	5	5	...	1	4.10	81	4.10	81	5.10
Riseley ...	10.0	12	6	...	11	1	8	...	...	16	1	4	220	...	5.2	65	5.12	71	7.16
Segresdon ...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	50	...	...	0.2
Shelton ...	5.0	6	...	...	2	...	14	4	...	5	3	1	4	1	5.0	125	3.0	75	4.0
Stanwick ...	2.2	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	1	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	2	...	...	2	...	2	...	...	1.10	75	2.10	125	2.0
Staughton ...	9.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	19 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	1.0	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	13	5	...	24	7	7	544	...	11.7	107	12.2	114	10.11
Tillbrook ...	5.0	6	20	...	6	...	...	...	...	4	...	5	...	...	5.0	125	5.0	125	4.0
Yelden ...	10.0	15	5	...	4	...	17	11	...	12	1	4	20	...	9.0	112	5.0	62	8.0
Unnamed 376 ...	0.2	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	0.10	83	0.10	83	0.12
Total ...	99.3 $\frac{1}{2}$	163 $\frac{1}{2}$	87	14.1	84 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	136	67	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	153	37	57	1952	5	104.15	94.4			95.4 $\frac{1}{2}$

HUNDRED OF STODDEN.

Everton ...	5.0	5	...	2	3	4	...	...	...	5	...	1	...	...	3.0	60	5.0	100	5.0
Hatley ...	9.0	14 $\frac{1}{2}$	3	2.1 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	...	16	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	12	1	4	8	1	12.5	102	10.0	83	12.0
Potton ...	10.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	13	4	3.2	4	...	18	8	1	14	3	12	...	1	12.5	93	5.5	40	13.2
Sandy ...	16.1	16	...	8.1	3	...	24	8	5	6	2	16	...	2	12.0	120	8.0	80	10.0
Sutton ...	9.2 $\frac{1}{2}$	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	17	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	2	18	...	11 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	4.13	80	4.8	76	5.15
Total ...	50.0	59 $\frac{1}{2}$	24	14.0 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	64	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	6	55	6	44 $\frac{1}{2}$	8	4	44.3	32.13			45.17

HALF HUNDRED OF WENSLEY.

Column i ii iii iv v vi vii viii ix x xi xii xiii xiv xv xvi xvii xviii xix xx

TABLE II: SYNTHESIS OF THE HUNDREDS

VILL	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	Socmen, T.R.E.		DEMESNE			VILLANS			Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	Mills	VALET				
					Hidage h. v.	teams		number	teams							1086		Q.R.		T.R.E.
						there	short		there	short						li. s.	of 1066	li. s.	of 1066	li. s.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	
Carlton	5.3½	7½	5	...	6½	...	7	1	...	14	...	6½	...	1	5.16½	93	4.2½	66	6.5	
Farnish	3.0	3½	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	2	1	1½	...	...	2.10	83	1.10	50	3.0	
Felmersham	11.0	11	6	4.0	4	...	6	5	1	10	...	5	...	...	8.0	47	17.0	100	17.0	
Harold	10.0	10	...	...	...	1	2	10	7	6	...	...	6	200	1	6.0	30	16.0	80	20.0
Hinwick	8.0	12½	2	1.0	5½	3½	9	3	...	7	3	1	...	...	5.15	71	3.15	46	8.0	
Odell	10.0	10	1	2.0	3	1	16	5	1	12	7	8	110	1	8.0	44	13.0	72	18.0	
Podington	4.0	8	4	0.2	3	...	7	5	...	15	3	1	20	...	6.0	133	4.0	88	4.10	
Radwell	10.0	6½	10	...	2½	...	7	4	...	7	4	6	...	1	5.0	50	4.10	45	10.0	
Rushden	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6½	52	0.6½	52	0.12	
Sharnbrook	10.3½	16½	10	1.0	12	...	11	3	...	17	9	7½	164	2	8.19	54	6.14	40	16.7	
Thurleigh	5.0	15	...	...	...	8	1	9	6	...	24	6	...	210	...	10.10	120	7.5	82	8.15
Turvey	11.2½	19½	5	2.0	10½	1	8	7	...	32	4	6½	110	1	12.6	71	9.16	57	17.3	
Wymington	10.0	12	1	...	5	1	2	3	...	14	7	4	...	...	5.12	60	6.9	69	9.5	
Unnamed 28, 380	4.2	5½	1	...	2½	...	14	3	...	5	4	4	...	...	5.3	100	5.3	100	5.3	
Total...	104.2½	144½	50	10.2	67½	9½	111	52½	8½	159	48	57½	814	8	89.18		99.11		144.0	
HUNDRED OF WILLEY.																				
Beeston	10.2	10½	...	...	4½	...	8	4	...	5	3	9½	...	1	4.16	56	4.14	55	8.10	
Blunham	5.0	5½	8	2.3	3½	...	8	2	...	5	1	5½	...	1	5.2	70	4.3	57	7.5	
Broom	5.0	5	7	...	5	...	9	...	...	5	...	...	30	...	2.0	...	?	...	?	
Cardington	10.0	12	13	2.2	5	...	24	7	...	9	3	4	120	1	8.0	100	6.0	75	8.0	
Charlton	10.0	10	...	5.0	2	3	16	5	...	9	2	10	16	1	10.0	83	8.0	66	12.0	
Cople	10.0	9½	15	...	7	...	7	2	...	3	2	4	100	...	5.11	95	3.1	53	5.13	
Harrowden	10.0	12	14	1.2½	4½	...	20	7	...	14	2	4½	54	...	7.0	93	5.5	70	7.10	
Northill	10.0	11	8	4.0	6½	...	13	4	...	6	7	11	300	1½	10.5	80	8.15	68	12.15	
Southill	8.3	12½	24	...	9½	...	11	3	...	11	7	12½	360	...	8.8	91	8.3	88	9.4	
Stanford	9.3¾	10½	14	...	7½	...	13	3	...	3	4	10½	126	4	9.15	100	5.10	56	9.15	
Wardon	9.3½	9½	8	3.2	1	1	18	7	...	5	4	6½	40	1	6.10	72	7.0	77	9.0	
Willington	10.0	9	8	5.0	3	1	13	5	...	...	8	5	40	1	7.0	116	2.0	33	6.0	
Total...	108.3½	117½	119	24.1½	59½	6	160	49	...	75	43	83½	1086	11½	84.7		62.11		95.12	
HUNDRED OF WINAMTREE.																				
Leighton	47.0	55	...	47.0	7	...	88	47	1	36	2	43	100	2						
Luton	30.0	88	...	...	5	...	91	83	...	51	3	4	2050	7						
Houghton Regis	10.0	22½	...	...	2½	...	38	22	...	12	...	12	100	...						
Sewell	3.0	2	...	...	1½	...	1	...	...	4	...	...	...	...		
Total...	90.0	167½	...	47.0	16	...	218	152	1	103	5	59½	2250	9						
TERRA																				
EXTRACENTENALIS.																				
TERRA FORINSECA.																				
Barworth	5.0	3	...	...	2	1	3	...	...	4	...	1	100	...	2.0	...	1.10	...	3.0	
Caddington	10.0	10	...	4.0	1	3	22	6	...	5	2	...	100	...	5.10	...	6.0	...	6.0	
Everton	7.0	18	...	...	2	...	19	9	...	2	...	?	?	...	...	...	...	...	10.0	
Farnish	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Kensworth	10.0	10	...	5.0	2	3	8	2	3	3	3	...	100	...	3.10	...	5.0	...	5.0	
Keysoe	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	7	...	?	?	...	?	...	...	...	...
Meppershall	3.1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	[4]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Pertenhall	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	...	...	...	0.5	
Podington	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Polehanger	0.2	1	...	...	[1]	...	...	...	...	[2]	2	1	2	...	0.10	...	0.10	...	1.0	
Swineshead	4.0	4½	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	5	...	?	?	...	2.6	...	...	...	...
Westoning	5.0	14	...	2.0	2	...	16	5	5	3	4	7	400	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	47.1	63	...	11.0	10	7	84	24½	8	35	11									
TERRA EXTRINSECA.																				
Easton, Hunts	0.0½																			
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx	

HUNDRED OF WILLEY.

HUNDRED OF WIXAMTREE.

TERRA
EXTRACENTENALIS.

TERRA FORINSECA.

TERRA EXTRINSECA.

TABLE III: SYNTHESIS OF THE SHIRE

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HUNDRED OR HALF HUNDRED	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	Socmen T.R.E.	DEMESNE			VILLANS			Bordars	Serfs	Meadow for teams	Wood for swine	Mills	VALET		
				Hidage h. v.	teams		number	teams							li. s.	Q.R. li. s.	T.R.E. li. s.
					there	short		there	short								
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii
Bedford ...	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Barford ...	100.1	117 ² / ₈	110	16.3	40 ³ / ₈	3	146	71	3	85	28	48 ³ / ₈	1050	7	77.15 ³ / ₈	56.9	110.19
Biggleswade ...	100.0	119 ³ / ₈	77	25.3	64 ³ / ₈	5 ³ / ₈	132	48 ³ / ₈	2	67	39	64	76	13	111.13	88.0	105.1
Buckley ...	57.1 ³ / ₈	80 ³ / ₈	28	7.0	20 ³ / ₈	8	113	30	17	64	30	42 ³ / ₈	640	8	66.11	65.9	88.4
Clifton ...	99.3 ³ / ₈	90 ³ / ₈	64	17.2 ³ / ₈	36 ³ / ₈	6	132	56	1	58	34	67 ³ / ₈	474	16	99.3	77.18	110.17
Flitt ...	98.1 ³ / ₈	139 ³ / ₈	23	21.1	38	11	164	83	8	93	60	66	1506	5	94.7	74.17	134.2
Manshead ...	123.1	158	27	10.0	41	13 ³ / ₈	175	81	21 ³ / ₈	100	73	117	1640	5	99.13	96.17	148.9
Redbornstoke ...	114.0 ³ / ₈	155	63	15.0	51 ³ / ₈	4	222	91	9 ³ / ₈	107	54	103 ³ / ₈	443 ³ / ₈	6	108.16	95.12	180.14
Stanbridge ...	62.2	58	...	10.3	14 ³ / ₈	3	76	29	10	26	17	20	770	5	43.0	45.0	74.0
Stodden ...	99.3 ³ / ₈	163 ³ / ₈	87	14.1	84 ³ / ₈	6	136	67	1 ³ / ₈	153	37	57	1952	5	104.15	94.4	95.4 ³ / ₈
Wensley ...	50.0	59 ³ / ₈	24	14.0 ³ / ₈	18 ³ / ₈	3 ³ / ₈	64	28 ³ / ₈	6	55	6	44 ³ / ₈	8	4	44.3	32.13	45.17
Willey ...	104.2 ³ / ₈	144 ³ / ₈	50	10.2	67 ³ / ₈	9 ³ / ₈	111	52 ³ / ₈	8 ³ / ₈	159	48	57 ³ / ₈	814	8	89.18	99.11	144.0
Wixantree ...	108.3 ³ / ₈	117 ³ / ₈	119	24.1 ³ / ₈	59 ³ / ₈	6	160	49	...	75	43	83 ³ / ₈	1086	11 ³ / ₈	84.7	62.11	95.12
Total A	1120.1 ³ / ₈	1413 ³ / ₈	672	187.1 ³ / ₈	546 ³ / ₈	79 ³ / ₈	1631	686 ³ / ₈	88	1042	469	771 ³ / ₈	14514	93 ³ / ₈	1024.1 ³ / ₈	889.1	1332.19 ³ / ₈
Extracentenal	90.0	167 ³ / ₈	...	47.0	16	8	218	152	1	103	5	59 ³ / ₈	2250	9	9.0	...	...
Extrinsec	0.0 ³ / ₈	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total B	1210.1 ³ / ₈	1581 ³ / ₈	672	234.1 ³ / ₈	562 ³ / ₈	80 ³ / ₈	1850	838 ³ / ₈	89	1145	474	830 ³ / ₈	16764	102 ³ / ₈	1033.1 ³ / ₈	...	...
Forinsec	47.1	63	...	11.0	10	7	84	24 ³ / ₈	8	35	11	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total C	1257.2 ³ / ₈	1644 ³ / ₈	672	245.1 ³ / ₈	572 ³ / ₈	87 ³ / ₈	1934	862 ³ / ₈	97	1180	485	...	...	...	...	...	...
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii

TABLE IV: RSTATES OF TENANTS IN CHIEF

Folio of D.B. Tenant in Chief	DEPENDENTS			ESTATE		DEMESNE			MILLS			WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		ANTECESSOR	
VILL	Undertenants	Socmen, Soldiers Small Holders	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	Hidage h. v.	Tenn-lands	Carucates	Hides h. v.	Tenns	Number	s. Value s. d.	Ers	Pannage for Swine	Dues s. d.	Tenns	Dues s. d.	li. s.	pc. of Q.R.		
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	
fo. 209.																			
Bedford, 1	...	...	...	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
THE KING.																			
Leighton, 2	...	...	114	47.0	52	...	43.0	6	2	30.0	...	100	...	40	...	...	...	Ancient Demesne.	
Leighton Ch., 3	...	1	12	...	3	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	...	...	Bp. Wulwi.	
Luton, 4	...	...	127	30.0	82	...	...	4	6	100.0	...	2000	10.8	4	...	...	...	Ancient Demesne.	
Luton Ch., 5	...	1	18	...	6	...	...	1	1	10.0	...	50	...	...	...	3.0	...	Morcar presbyter.	
fo. 209d.																			
Houghton Regis, 6	...	...	50	9.2	22	...	...	2	...	...	...	100	...	12	...	...	...	Ancient Demesne.	
Houghton Regis Ch., 7	...	1	...	0.2	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.12	...		
Sewell, 8	...	...	5	3.0	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.0	...	Walrave, m. of Qu. Edith.	
Biscot, 9	...	...	13	5.0	5	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	2.0	...	Edwin, m. of Asgar staire.	
BISHOP OF BAYEUX.																			
Eaton Bray, 10	...	...	35	12.1	20	...	2.0	4	...	...	...	300	1.0	6	...	16.0	80	Alsi, m. of Qu. Edith.	
Eversholt, 11	...	1	...	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	66	4 thanes.	
Milton Brian, 12	...	1	15	4.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	100	7 socmen.	
Bolnhurst, 13	...	1	2	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Azor, man of Borred.	
Bolnhurst, 14	...	2	2	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	same 2 socmen.	
Stagsden, 15	...	1	18	3.3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7.0	77	12 socmen.	
Carlton, 16	...	2	...	1.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.6	88	same 2 socmen.	
Turvey, 17	...	1	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	50	m. of Alwold de Stevington.	
Wilden, 18	...	1	20	13	5.0	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9.0	75	24 socmen.	
BISHOP OF COUTANCES.																			
Knottling, 19	...	...	17	5.0	5	...	3.0	2	...	...	...	400	...	2	...	4.0	133	Burret.	
Melchbourne, 20	...	...	31	10.0	10	...	3.0	3	...	...	...	100	...	3	...	8.0	160	Burret & 6 socmen.	
Dean, 21	...	...	6	8.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	6 socmen.	
fo. 210.																			
Yelden, 22	...	1	1	30	10.0	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	9.0	180	Borred & 5 socmen.	
Shelton (Stod.) 23	...	1	22	5.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	125	Uleuva under Borret.	
Staughton, 24	...	4	...	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	same 4 socmen, m. of Borret.	
Riseley, 25	...	8	14	6.0	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.12	100	Burred & 6 socmen.	
Bolnhurst, 26	...	...	5	0.1	1	...	0.3	1	...	...	...	20	...	1	...	0.15	100	Gudmund, m. of Kg. Edw.	
Newton Bromswold, 27	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	Alwin, m. of Borred.	
Manor in Willey Hund. 28	...	1	23	4.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	100	Turbert, m. of Kg. Edw.	
Turvey, 29	...	...	12	4.0	6	...	2.0	3	1	20.0	...	40	...	2	...	6.0	150	3 socmen, m. of Kg. Edw.	
Hinwick, 30	...	1	4	1.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	...		
Sharnbrook, 31	...	1	1	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	200	Alwin, m. of Borret.	
Sharnbrook, 32	...	7	...	3.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.4	100	same 7 socmen, m. of Borred.	
Sharnbrook, 33	...	1	2	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	60	Aluric, m. of Borred.	
Sharnbrook, 34	...	...	4	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	100	Borred, King's thane.	
Rushden, 35	...	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Aluric, m. of Borred.	
BISHOP OF LINCOLN.																			
Dean, 36	...	1	10+	2.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	133	Godric, King's thane.	
Staughton, 37	...	1	...	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	150	Alwin Deule, m. of Bp. Linc.	
Riseley, 38	...	1	2	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Godric, King's thane.	
Biddenham, 39	...	1	1	1.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	100	Leuric, m. of Bp. of Lincoln.	
Goldington, 40	...	1	2	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	100	Alwin Sac, m. of Bp. Linc.	
Tempsford, 41	...	1	1	1.1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	150	Alwin Deule, m. of Kg. Edw.	
fo. 210d.																			
Clifton, 42	...	1	5	3.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	Alwin Deule, m. of Kg. Edw.	
Chicksand, 43	...	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	Alwin Deule.	
Bedford Ch. 44	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	...	[? Canons of St. Paul.]	
Leighton Ch., 45	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	...	Bp. Wulwi.	
BISHOP OF DURHAM.																			
Millo, 46	...	...	5	4.2	4	...	3.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	100	Abbey of Waltham.	
Arlesey, 47	...	...	15	8.0	8	...	...	3	2	26.8	...	...	...	3	...	7.0	100	Abbey of Waltham.	
ABBOT OF ST. EDMUND.																			
Biddenham, 48	...	1	2	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	100	Ulmar presbyter of Kg. Ed.	
Kenemondwick, 49	...	...	6	3.3	4	...	1.3	2	1	13.4	...	...	...	1	...	3.0	200	Earl Tostig.	
Blunham, 50	...	...	14	4.1	4	...	2.3	2	1	20.0	...	...	...	4	...	4.0	114	4 socmen.	
ABBOT OF PETERBOROUGH.																			
Stanwick, 51	...	...	4	2.2	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1.10	60	Ahh. of Peterborough.	
ABBOT OF RAMSEY.																			
Cranfield, 52	...	...	25	10.0	12	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	1000	...	2	...	9.0	100	Abb. of Ramsey.	
Barton, 53	...	...	33	11.0	12	...	3.0	2	1	2.0	...	200	...	6	...	10.0	100	Abb. of Ramsey.	
Pegsdon, 54	...	...	49	10.0	14	...	2.0	2	2	27.8	...	60	...	3	...	10.0	100	Abb. of Ramsey.	
Wyboston, 55	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	...	Abb. of Ramsey.	
Little Barford, 56	...	1	16	5.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	133	Abb. of Ramsey.	
Clifton, 57	...	1	...	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	same man under the Abb.	
Shillington, 58	...	...	36	10.0	14	...	2.0	2	1	0.0	...	100	...	6	...	12.0	100	Abb. of Ramsey.	
Holwell, 59	...	...	11	3.2	4	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	4.0	100	Abb. of Ramsey.	
Stondon, 60	...	...	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	...	Abb. of Ramsey.	
fo. 211.																			
ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER.																			
Holwell, 61	...	...	18	6.2	6	...	3.0	2	2	20.0	...	...	...	1	...	5.0	100	Abb. of Westminster.	
ABBOT OF THORNEY.																			
Bolnhurst, 62	...	...	14	2.1	5	...	2.1	1	...	...	...	106	...	1	...	3.0	150	Abb. of Thorney.	
ABBESS OF BARKING.																			
Lidlington, 63	...	...	46	10.0	11	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	400	...	8	...	8.0	100	Abb. of Barking.	
CANONS OF ST. PAUL, LONDON.																			
Caddington, 64	...	...	7	5.0	6	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	200	...	...	...	2.0	400	Lewin cilt.	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	

TABLE IV: ESTATES OF TENANTS IN CHIEF

Folio of D.B. Tenant in Chief	DEPENDENTS			ESTATE		DEMESNE			MILLS		WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		ANTECESSOR	
Vill	Undertenants	Soemen, Soldiers Small Holders	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	Hilage h. v.	Team-lands	Carucates	Hides h. v.	Teams	Number	s. d.	Eels	Pannage for Swine	s. d.	Teams	Dues s. d.	1086 li. s.	p.c. of Q.R.	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix
CANONS OF ST. PAUL, BEDFORD.																		
Biddenham, 65	1	2	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Leviet presbyter (also T.R.W.).
Biddenham, 66	1	...	0.1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	100	Marven.
ERNUIN PRESBYTER.																		
Harrowden, 67	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	0.10	200	Ernuin's father.
COUNT EUSTACE.																		
Bromham, 68	...	1	...	...	1.2	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	50	Alwold & Lenric, m. of Kg.
Stevinton, 69	...	1	...	23	3.0	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	14.0	70	Adelold, King's thane. [Ed.
Stagsden, 70	...	1	...	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	40	
Pavenham, 71	...	1	...	2	2.2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.5	62	Alwold, King's thane.
Turvey, 72	...	1	...	2	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	50	Alwold, King's thane.
Odell, 73	...	1	...	12	4.2½	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	60	Alwold, King's thane.
Sharnbrook, 74	...	1	...	11	2.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	100	Alwold, m. of Kg. Edw.
WALTER GIFFARD.																		
Woburn, 75	...	1	...	19	10.0	24	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	41	Alric, Kg's thane & 6 soemen.
Battlesdon, 76	...	1	...	17	[8.0]	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	100	7 soemen.
fo. 211d.																		
Marston, 77	...	1	...	11	1.3½	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.10	250	2 thanes.
Maulden, 78	...	1	...	5	3.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.10	100	Alwin, bro. of Bp. Wulwi.
Dunton, 79	...	1	...	6	1.3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.13½	100	4 soem., m. of Archbp. Stig.
Millo, 80	...	1	...	12	5.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	100	10 soemen.
Stratton, 81	...	1	...	6	1.1½	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.8	100	3 soemen.
Cudsand, 82	...	1	...	5	3.2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	200	4 soemen.
Campton, 83	...	1	...	4	4.2½	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	300	6 soemen.
WILLIAM DE WARENNE.																		
Dean, 84	3	6	2.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	same 3 soemen.
Tillbrook, 85	20	4	5.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	100	same 20 socm. of Kg's soke.
Hauefeld, 86	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	
Staughton, 87	3	0.1	2	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	...	...	1.0	50	Avigi, m. of Anschil.
Staughton, 88	2	1.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Avigi.
Staughton, 89	0.1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	Blach, m. of Avigi.
Staughton, 90	1	...	0.1½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Godric, m. of the Sheriff.
WILLIAM DE OW.																		
Sundon, 91, 92	1	43	10.0	16	...	4.0	4	...	...	100	...	4	...	10.0	125	Alestan de Boscumbe.
fo. 212.																		
Streatley, 93	...	1	...	8	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	150	Godwin, m. of Alestan.
Millo, 94	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Godmar, m. of Alestan.
Edworth, 95	...	2	15	7.3½	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8.0	80	Alestan & 2 soemen.
Holme, 96	...	1	...	...	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.16	133	Alueva, m. of Anschil.
Arlesey, 97	...	1	...	23	6.0½	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7.0	100	Alestan & 1 socman.
Campton, 98	...	1	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Alwin, m. of Alestan.
MILES CRISPIN.																		
Clapham, 99	37	5.0	30	10	5.0	8	1	40.0	...	200	0.6	6	...	24.0	100	Briextrie under Abb. Ramsey.
Milton Ernest, 99a	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 soemen.
Thurleigh, 100	...	1	...	...	0.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	man of Brixtic.
ERNULF DE HESING.																		
Toddington, 101	80	15.2	30	10	...	7	...	...	...	300	...	30	...	25.0	100	Wulward Levit.
Chalgrave, 102	0.0½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	Edward wit.
EUDO DAPIFER.																		
Eaton Socon, 103	...	2	53	20.0	16	...	7.2	4	2	36.6	100	400	...	12	...	15.0	187	Ulnar of Etone.
Wyboston, 104	19	6.3	5	...	4.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	3.0	300	4 King's thanes.
Chawston, 105	4	1.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	100	2 m. of King Edward.
Tempsford, 106	4	1.1	2	...	1.0	1	1	10.0	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	100	2 soemen.
Tempsford, 107	...	1	14	4.1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	100	3 soemen, m. of Ulnar.
Sandy, 108	32	16.1	16	...	8.1	3	2	50.0	...	...	...	...	...	12.0	150	Ulnar de Etone.
Sutton, 109	...	1	1	0.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	200	2 soemen.
Southill, 110	...	1	...	...	0.0½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	...	Alric.
fo. 212d.																		
Stanford, 111	...	1	...	5	4.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	200	Ulnar & 1 socm. his m.
Stanford, 112	...	7	...	...	0.0½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	same 7 soemen, m. of Ulnar.
Blunham, 113	...	1	...	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	66	4 soemen.
Beeston, 114	...	1	...	7	3.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	150	Norman.
Beeston, 115	...	1	...	6	4.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Norman.
Beeston, 116	...	1	...	1	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	Ravan, m. of Ulnar.
Northill, 117	...	1	...	4	1.2	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	Ravan, m. of Ulnar.
Northill, 118	...	1	...	8	1.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	150	2 soemen.
Clifton, 119	...	1	...	13	6.2	4½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	125	Ulnar and 3 soemen.
WILLIAM PEVEREL.																		
Tillsworth, 120	...	1	...	19	10.0	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6.0	150	Lauric s. of Osunund.
Rushden, 121	...	1	...	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1½	100	Samar priest.
HUGH DE BEAUCHAMP.																		
Keysoe, 122	16	4.3	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	200	...	4	...	5.0	125	Aschil and 12 soemen.
Riseley, 123	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Aschil.
Painoe, 124	12	4.0	5	...	2.0	2	1	30.0	100	100	...	...	...	4.0	200	Aschil, King's thane.
Stagsden, 125	22	5.0	5	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	100	...	1	...	5.0	245	2 m. of Kg. Ed., 1 m. of Harold.
Chainhale, 126	26	5.0	5	...	2.0	2	1	40.0	100	100	...	3	...	8.0	160	Aschil, King's thane.
Chainhale, 127	2	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	Anschil, King's thane.
Goldington, 128	8	3.1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	100	...	1	...	3.0	100	9 soemen.
Southill, 129	2.1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	100	8 soemen.
Stanford, 130	5	1.6½	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	4 soemen.
Cardington, 131	18	6.2½	8	...	2.2	1	1	40.0	100	120	...	3	...	6.0	120	13 soemen.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix

TABLE IV: ESTATES OF TENANTS IN CHIEF

Folio of D.B. Tenant in Chief		DEPENDENTS			ESTATE		DEMESNE			MILLS			WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		ANTECESSOR	
		Under-tenants	Socmen, Soldiers Small Holders	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	Hidage li. s.	Team-lands	Curcates	Hides h. v.	Teams	Number	s. Value d.	Eels	Pannage for Swine	s. Dues d.	Teams	s. d.	li. s.	p.c. of Q.R.		
VILL		ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	
fo. 213.																				
	Willington, 132	...	...	21	10.0	9	...	5.0	3	1	12.0	100	40	...	5	...	7.0	350	Aschil and 8 socmeo.
	Stotfold, 133	...	...	41	15.0	15	...	5.0	3	4	80.0	400	...	...	7	...	25.0	208	Aschil, King's thane.
	Mauldon, 134	...	...	2	0.2½	1	...	...	[1]	...	...	...	20	...	1	...	0.10	200	Godwin, m. of Aschil.
	Houghton Conquest, 135	...	...	16	5.0	6	...	...	[6]	...	...	...	200	...	6	...	5.0	100	7 socmeo.
	Hawnes, 136	...	...	24	5.0	8	...	2.2	3	...	...	...	500	...	1	...	10.0	142	Achi, King's thane.
	Salpho, 137	...	...	11	5.0	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	100	same 11 socmeo.
	Aspley Guise, 138	...	...	25	10.0	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8.0	160	Levea.
	Salford, 139	...	...	17	5.0	5	...	...	1	1	9.4	...	150	10.0	5	...	4.0	133	Turchil, King's thane.
	Eversholt, 140	...	...	19	7.2	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	166	Turgis, King's thane.
	Milton Brian, 141	...	...	13	6.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6.0	150	Auti house of E. Wgar.
	Gravenhurst, 142	...	...	11	3.2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	100	5 socmeo.
	Streatley, 143	...	...	13	4.1	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	200	Aschil & 1 socm. to m.
	Higham Gobion, 144	...	...	21	8.0	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8.0	100	5 socmeo.
	Staughton, 145	...	...	8	0.2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	150	Oviet, m. of Aschil.
	Riseley, 146	...	...	1	4	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Wenot, m. of Godrasheriff.
	Milton Ernest, 147	...	...	7	1.3½	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	
	Bletsoe, 148	...	...	11	2.2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	100	Aschil and 3 socmeo.
fo. 213d.																				
	Biddenham, 149	...	...	2	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Alsi de Brunehant.
	Bromham, 150	...	...	27	6.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7.0	140	Alsi, m. of Qu. Edm.
	Turvey, 151	...	...	5	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	2 socmeo.
	Sharnbrook, 152	...	...	1	0.1½	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	3 socmeo.
	Thurleigh, 153	...	...	1	0.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	200	Moding, m. of Qu Edith.
	Wyboston, 154	...	...	1	0.0½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	Aschil, King's thane.
	Chawston, 155	...	...	2	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	66	2 socmeo.
	Roxton, 156	...	...	3	1.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	50	4 socmeo, m. of Qu Ed.
	Great Barford, 157	...	...	11	3.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	200	3 socmeo, m. of Qu Ed.
	Great Barford, 158	...	...	23	5.2½	11	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	200	3 socmeo.
	Colmworth, 159	...	...	26	5.0	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	100	Aschil and 8 socmeo.
	Great Barford, 160	...	...	10	1.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	100	2 socmeo.
	Great Barford, 161	...	...	10	1.3½	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	200	3 socmeo.
	Goldington, 162	...	...	5	2.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	150	3 socmeo.
	Goldington, 163	...	...	6	3.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	400	Almar, m. of Aschil.
	Goldington, 164	...	...	2	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	150	vill in commonab.
	Holme, 165	...	...	1	0.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	...	1 socman under Aschil.
	Astwick, 166	...	...	5	1.1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	6 socmeo.
	Astwick, 167	...	...	1	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	
	Astwick, 168	...	...	1	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	Ledmar, m. of E. Dasti.
	Stanford, 169	...	...	5	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	300	Almar de Ow.
	Cople, 170	...	...	8	4.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	300	3 socmeo.
	Cople, 171	...	...	2	1.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	2 socmeo.
	Cople, 172	...	...	2	1.0½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	2 socmeo, m. of Qu Ed.
	Cople, 173	...	...	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	100	Aschil and Alestan.
fo. 214.																				
	Cople, 174	...	...	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	3 socmeo.
	Cople, 175	...	...	...	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.7½	100	2 socmeo.
	Cople, 176	...	...	2	0.2½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3 socmeo.
	Northill, 177	...	...	1	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Oviet, m. of Kg. Edm.
	Cudsand, 178	...	...	3	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	4 socmeo.
NIGEL D'ALBINI.																				
	Husborne Crawley, 179	...	...	9	5.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	75	9 thanes.
	Manshead Hundred, 180	...	...	2	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	150	Suglo, m. of Alric s. of Goding.
	Tingrith, 181	...	...	6	2.1	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	133	2 thanes.
	Priestley, 182	...	...	5	1.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	5 thanes.
	Harlingdon, 183	...	...	28	5.0	10	...	...	3½	...	...	...	400	...	4	...	6.0	150	4 thanes.
	Shelton (Redb.), 184	...	...	4	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	133	Alward, m. of Alric s. of Goding.
	Shelton (Redb.), 185	...	...	2	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	200	Suglo, m. of Alric s. of Goding.
	Marston, 186	...	...	20	8.0½	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7.0	140	21 socmeo.
	Millbrook, 187	...	...	6	5.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	200	Godwin, s. of Lewa.
	Amphill, 188	...	...	9	5.0	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	200	7 socmeo.
	Broom, 189	...	...	14	5.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	...	7 socmeo.
	Mauldon, 190	...	...	...	0.0½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7 socmeo.
	Westcotts, 191	...	...	16	2.3	6	...	...	[5]	...	...	...	100	...	2	...	3.0	150	7 socmeo.
	Clophill, 192	...	...	11	5.0	8	...	...	3.0	2	...	...	200	1.0	4	...	3.0	200	2 thanes, m. of E. Dasti.
	Cainhoe, 193	11	4.0	6	2.3	2	1	6.0	...	100	2.0	8	...	3.0	200	Aluric, King's thane.
	Silsoe, 194	...	...	6	2.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	Aluric parvus, King's thane.
	Pulloxhill, 195	...	...	26	10.0	13	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10.0	125	8 socmeo.
fo. 214d.																				
	Streatley, 196	...	...	9	4.1½	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	200	Lewin and 3 Kg's thanes.
	Milton Ernest, 197	...	...	7	2.3	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	6 socmeo.
	Carlton, 198	...	...	5	1.1½	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	Golderon, m. of Leenot.
	Carlton, 199	...	...	5	1.0½	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	200	3 socmeo.
	Radwell, 200	...	...	15	7.1½	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	100	10 socmeo.
	Turvey, 201	...	...	5	1.0½	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.13	100	Alward, m. of Bp. Wulvi.
	Wyboston, 202	...	...	18	9.1	9	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6.0	150	12 socmeo.
	In Biggleswade Hund., 203	...	...	1	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.7	70	Samar, m. of Lewa.
	Holme, 204	...	...	3	1.0½	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	7 socmeo.
	Harrowden, 205	...	...	26	6.0	8	...	1.2½	1	...	...	...	50	...	2	...	5.0	125	14 socmeo.
	Clifton, 206	...	...	...	2.0	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	150	4 socmeo.
	Henlow, 207	...	...	13	5.2	5½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.10	137	9 socmeo.
	Arlesey, 208	...	...	...	0.3½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.17	100	2 socmeo.
Column i		ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	

TABLE IV: ESTATES OF TENANTS IN CHIEF

Folio of D.B. Tenant in Chief Vill	DEPENDENTS		ESTATE		DEMESNE			MILLS			WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		ANTECESSOR	
	Under-tenants	Servants, Soldiers, Small Holders	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	Carucates	Hides h. v.	Teams	Number	Value s. d.	Fels	Pannage for Swine	Dues s. d.	Teams	Dues s. d.	li. s.	p.c. of Q.R.	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix
WILLIAM SPECI.																		
Holcote, 209	...	1	14	4.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	300	Alward Belrap, m. of Alric.
Steppingley, 210	...	1	16	5.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	200	Almar and 2 socm., his m.
Streatley, 211	...	1	...	0.03	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	Aluric, m. of Aluric parvus.
Bladdenham, 212	...	2	10	3.2½	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	200	11 socmen.
Hinwick, 213	...	1	...	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Uthod, m. of Ulsi. of Borgret.
Wymington, 214	...	1	...	0.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	20	Leuric, m. of Borgred.
fo. 215.																		
Chawston, 215	...	1	19	7.1	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6.0	150	12 socmen.
Chawston, 216	...	1	2	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	2 m. of Kg. Edw.
Roston, 217	...	...	14	8.3	8	...	4.3	2	1	33.0	260	20	...	...	...	7.0	280	12 socmen.
Eyworth, 218	...	...	21	9.0	9	...	5.2	3	1	8.0	...	...	...	...	...	9.0	100	20 socmen.
Southill, 219	...	2	22	5.0½	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.10	112	16 socmen.
Stanford, 220	...	1	2	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	75	Lemar, King's thane.
Wardon, 221	...	...	26	9.0	9	...	3.2	1	1	12.0	...	...	...	...	...	6.0	100	8 socmen.
Beeston, 222	...	...	...	0.3½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Lewin cilt, King's thane.
Northill, 223	...	...	14	6.2	7	...	4.0	3	½	13.0	...	200	...	7	...	6.0	100	6 socmen.
ROBERT DE TODENI.																		
Studham, 224	...	1	15	6.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	200	Osulf s. of Franc.
Oakley, 225	...	2	15	4.0	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	100	Osulf, King's thane.
Turvey, 226	...	2	11	2.1	4½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	66	Osulf.
GILBERT DE GAND.																		
Edlesborough, 227	...	...	10	10.0	7	...	5.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.10	100	Ulf, King's thane.
ROBERT DE OHGL.																		
Thurleigh, 228	...	1	6	0.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	100	Oviet, King's thane.
Thurleigh, 229	...	1	1	0.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Alwin, m. of Bp. Wulwi.
RANULF BRO. OF ILGER.																		
Pavenham, 230	...	1	14	5.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	75	Godwin, King's thane.
ROBERT FAFTON.																		
Flitton, 231	...	...	10	5.0	6	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	50	...	6	...	3.0	100	Alwin horim, King's thane.
fo. 215d.																		
ALURED DE LINCOLN.																		
Wymington, 232	...	1	10	3.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	80	Godwin Franpold.
WALTER FLEMING.																		
Tottenhoe, 233	...	1	28	10.0	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8.0	80	Levenot, King's thane.
Milton Ernest, 234	...	1	3	2.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	2 socm., m. of Bithric.
Turvey, 235	...	1	9	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	300	Levenot, King's thane.
Odell, 236	...	...	23	5.1½	5	...	2.0	2	1	36.8	200	60	...	5	...	5.0	62	Levenot and 1 socman.
Podington, 237	...	1	15	1.3	5½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.10	180	Levenot, King's thane.
Wymington, 238	...	1	13	4.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	100	Lant, m. of Levenot; 1 socm.
Wymington, 239	...	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	50	Godwin Franpalt.
Thurleigh, 240	...	1	23	3.0	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	166	Levenot, King's thane.
Thurleigh, 241	...	1	4	1.1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	Ordric, m. of Levenot.
Stratton, 242	...	...	3	1.0	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Lewin, King's thane.
Holme, 243	...	...	3	1.0	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	125	2 socmen.
Astwick, 244	...	1	1	0.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.16	100	Lewin, King's thane.
Langford, 245	...	...	24	10.0	16	...	4.1	4	2	26.8	...	16	...	16	2.0	15.10	155	Lewin and 1 socman.
Southill, 246	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Southill, 247	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	166	Lewin, in pledge.
Henlow, 248	...	1	10	3.2	38	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	150	6 socmen.
fo. 216.																		
WALTER BRO. OF SEIER.																		
Segenho, 249	...	...	31	10.0	10	...	4.0	1	...	...	...	300	...	8	...	6.0	60	Levenot and 1 socman.
Silsoe, 250	...	1	18	4.0	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8.0	160	Levenot and 3 socmen.
HUGH FLEMING.																		
Podington, 251	...	...	10	2.1	2½	...	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	4 socmen.
Hinwick, 252	...	...	8	1.2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	150	Alwold, m. of Bp. Wulwi.
Sharnbrook, 253	...	1	2	0.2½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	Leuric, m. of Abb. Ramsey.
HUGH PINCERNA.																		
Staughton, 254	...	...	6	2.3	4	...	1.0	2	...	...	...	200	...	1	...	2.0	57	Wig, King's thane; 1 socman.
Segresdon, 255	...	...	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	Alwin, m. of E. Harold.
SIGAR DE CIOCHES.																		
Staughton, 256	...	...	20	2.0	5	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	60	...	1	...	4.0	133	Wig, King's thane.
GUNFRID DE CIOCHES.																		
Hinwick, 257	...	1	3	1.3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	2 socmen.
RICHARD, S. OF CT.																		
GILBERT.																		
Sudbury, 258	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Prior of St. Neot.
Wyboston, 259	...	1	...	2.0½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.11	100	Prior of St. Neot.
RICHARD PUNGIANT.																		
Dunton, 260	...	...	17	8.1	8	...	4.1	3	...	...	...	60	...	...	...	8.0	133	Archbp. Stigand.
Tempsford, 261	...	1	4	2.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	150	3 socmen.
Southill, 262	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Archbp. Stigand.
WILLIAM CAMERARIUS.																		
Potsgrove, 263	...	...	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.15	100	Morcar presbyter.
Battlesdon, 264	...	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Morcar presbyter.
Tottenhoe, 265	...	...	12	6.3	6	...	3.3	1	1	3.0	...	20	...	3	...	2.10	100	Lewin, m. of E. Waltheof.
WILLIAM LOVET.																		
Husborne Crawley, 266	...	...	10	5.0	5	...	2.0	2	2	10.0	...	...	...	5	...	2.0	133	Grimbald, m. of Kg. Ed.
Flitwick, 267	...	...	10	5.0	7	...	2.0	2	1	4.0	...	100	...	5	...	2.10	83	Alwin, King's thane.
WILLIAM.																		
Farndish, 268	6	2.0	2½	2	1	...	2.0	200	3 socmen.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix

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		DEPENDENTS		ESTATE		DEMESNE			MILLS			WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		ANTCESSOR	
Folio of D.B. Tenant in Chief Vill		Undertenants	Socmen, Soldiers Small Holders	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	Hillage h. v.	Team-lands	Carucates	Hides h. v.	Teams	Number	s. d.	Eels	Pannage for Swine	Dues s. d.	Teams	Dues s. d.	1086 li. s.	p.c. of Q.R.	
Column i		ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix
fo. 216d. HENRY S. OF AZOR. Farndish, 269		...	...	2	1.0	1	...	...	[1]	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	100	2 socmen.
OSBERN S. OF RICHARD. Staughton, 270		...	1	...	1 0.2½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Stori, m. of E. Tosti; 1 socm
Riseley, 271		...	1	...	1 0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Alwin, m. of Stori.
Keysoe, 272		...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	
Elvendon, 273		...	1	...	1.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Alwin, m. of Stori.
OSBERN S. OF WALTER. Little Barford, 274		...	...	11	3.0	3	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3.0	150	Ulmar of Eton.
OSBERN PISCATOR. Sharnbrook, 275		...	...	3	0.2	1	...	...	[1]	1	1.4	...	10	...	1	...	1.6	260	Tovi huscarle of Kg. E.
Carlton, 276		...	...	6	1.1½	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1.0	100	Godwin Frambolt.
TURSTIN CAMERARIUS. Pavenham, 277		...	...	7	2.2	3	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	2.0	100	Alsi, m. of Alli.
Hinwick, 278		...	...	3	1.3	2	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.10	300	Godwin Frambolt.
Beeston, 279		...	...	...	0.2	...	...	...	0	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.0	...	Godwin, m. of E. Tosti.
Campton, 280		...	...	3	1.3½	1	...	1.1½	1	...	...	...	20	...	1½	...	1.10	100	3 socmen.
GILBERT, S. OF SALOMON. Meppershall, 281		...	...	11	4.0	4	...	5.0	3	...	...	...	200	10.0	7	...	6.0	100	Lewin cilt and 4 socmen.
Felmersham, 282		...	...	10	7.2	8	...	4.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	5.0	41	6 socmen.
ALBERT OF LORRAINE. Chalgrave, 283		...	...	23	8.0½	10	3.0	...	2	...	...	...	50	...	8	...	7.0	116	Albert of Lorraine.
Wootton, 284		...	...	26	10.0	11	...	2.0	3	...	...	...	400	...	5	...	10.0	125	Almar, m. of E. Tosti.
Shelton (Redb.), 285		...	...	11	3.0	5	...	1.0	2	...	...	...	100	...	3	...	2.0	200	Almar, m. of E. Tosti.
Sharnbrook, 286		...	...	12	2.0½	3	...	1.0	2	1	16.0	...	40	...	2	...	2.10	166	Algar, m. of Qu. Edith.
DAVID DE ARGENTOIN. Riseley, 287		...	...	4	1.0	1	...	...	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	50	Homdai, m. of E. Harold.
fo. 217. RALF DE INSULA. Stratton, 288		...	...	12	4.0	8	...	...	[7]	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	12.0	300	Archbp. Stigand.
Biggleswade, 289		...	...	20	10.0	10	...	5.2	3	2	47.0	...	...	...	10	...	17.0	113	Archbp. Stigand and 2 socmen
Holme, 290		...	...	6	2.0	5	...	...	[5]	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2.0	133	Archbp. Stigand and 3 socmen.
Wardon, 291		...	...	...	0.1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
GOZELIN BRITO. Potsgrave, 292		...	...	12	7.2	7½	...	3.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	2.10	50	4 thanes.
Gladley, 293		...	...	...	2.2	1	...	...	1	1	16.0	...	100	...	1	...	1.0	100	Wigot, Kg's huntsm.
COUNTESS JUDITH. Mauldon, 294		...	1	...	9 5.1½	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	75	Alwold and 1 socman.
Houghton Conquest, 295		...	1	2	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Lepst, m. of E. Tosti.
Wilshamstead, 296		...	1	23	3.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	7.6	324	8 socmen.
Elstow, 297		...	1	20	3.2	7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	250	4 socmen, m. of Kg. Edw.
Kempston, 298		...	...	38	10.0	20	...	2.0	4	1	5.0	...	200	...	20	...	18.0	81	E. Guert and 2 thanes.
Bolnhurst, 299		...	1	2	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	Almar, King's thane.
Oakley, 300		...	1	3	1.0	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Godwin, m. of E. Harold.
Bletsoe, 301		...	1	12	2.2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	100	Levea, m. of Kg. Ed.
Bromham, 302		...	1	7	2.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	Godwin, m. of E. Harold.
Stagsden, 303		...	1	4	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	2 socmen, m. of Kg. Ed.
Felmersham, 304		...	1	6	3.2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	60	Alli, King's thane.
Radwell, 305		...	1	3	2.2½	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	Tovi huscarle of Kg. Ed.
Harold, 306		...	1	10	10.0	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6.0	37	3 King's thanes.
Sharnbrook, 307		...	1	2	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	Oviet, m. of Kg. Edw.
fo. 217d. In Barford Hund., 308		...	1	6	2.3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	400	Ulfec, Kg's steetsman.
Potton, 309		...	1	1	0.0½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Earl Tosti.
Stratton, 310		...	1	6	0.3½	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.8	100	Alwin, m. of Kg. Ed.
Holme, 311		...	1	1	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.7	100	Alwin, m. of Kg. Ed.
Holme, 312		...	2	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Godwin, m. of Kg. Ed.
Potton, 313		...	2	34	10.0	12	...	3.2	3	1	5.0	...	...	...	12	...	12.0	240	E. Tosti and 4 socmen.
Sutton, 314		...	1	...	4 1.2	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	125	3 socmen.
Sutton, 315		...	1	...	3 1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.8	...	6 socmen.
Sutton, 316		...	1	...	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	50	same Levegar, m. of Kg. Ed
Sutton, 317		...	1	3	0.3½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.8	100	2 socmen.
Sutton, 318		...	2	1	0.1½	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.4	100	Edward, m. of Abb. St. Alb
Sutton, 319		...	1	...	4 2.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	2 socmen.
Sutton, 320		...	1	...	...	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	50	Ulmar, m. of Ordui.
Sutton, 321		...	1	1	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	same Ederic, m. of Kg. Edw.
Hatley, 322		...	...	16	3.2½	6½	...	1.0½	2	...	...	...	4	...	2	...	6.5	130	Earl Tosti.
Everton, 323		...	1	...	9 5.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	60	Earl Tosti.
Southill, 324		...	1	...	7 1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	75	Tuffa, m. of E. Waltheof.
Harrowden, 325		...	1	...	10 3.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	150	Azelin, m. of E. Testu.
Cardington, 326		...	1	...	18 3.1½	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	200	Azelin, m. of E. Tosti.
Cople, 327		...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2½	100	Wulwin, m. of Kg. Edw.
Blunham, 328		...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	man of King Edward.
Clifton, 329		...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Ulric, m. of Kg. Edw.
ADELIZ DE GRENTMAISNIL. Shelton (Redb.), 330		...	...	1	0.2	1	...	...	[1]	...	...	...	6	...	1	...	0.6	100	Godwin, m. of E. Guert.
Houghton Conquest, 331		...	1	1	21 4.2	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	133	3 socmen.
Charlton, 332		...	...	27	10.0	10	...	5.0	2	1	30.0	...	16	...	10	...	10.0	125	King Edward (E. Tosti).
Milton Ernest, 333		...	1	...	9 3.1	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	100	Godwin, m. of Borret.
Column i		ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix

TABLE IV: ESTATES OF TENANTS IN CHIEF

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Folio of D.B. Tenant in Chief	DEPENDENTS			ESTATE		DEMESNE			MILLS			WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		ANTECESSOR	
VILL	Under-tenants	Socmen, Soldiers Small Holders	Villans, bordars and Serfs	Hidage h. v.	Team-lands	Carucates	Hides h. v.	Teams	Number	% Value d.	Fees	Damage for Stoke	% Dues d.	Teams	% Dues d.	1086 li. s.	p.c. of Q.R.		
Column I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	
fo. 218. AZELINA TAILLEBOIS.																			
Battlesden, 334	3	1.2	14	...	...	[1]	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.0	100	Anschil and Alwin, socni.	
Hockliffe, 335	24	10.0	8	...	5.0	2	...	...	...	100	...	4	...	8.0	100	Anschill.	
Cainhoe, 336	...	1	4	1.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	Ulric, Kg's socman.	
Wyboston, 337	...	1	3	1.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	Almar, m. of Ulmar.	
Eyworth, 338	...	1	1	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	same Brodo.	
Hatley, 339	13	5.1	8	...	1.1	2	1	18.0	...	4	3.0	2	...	6.0	120	Ulmar and 2 socmen.	
Stanford, 340	...	1	3	2.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	300	2 socmen.	
Wardon, 341	...	1	1	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	50	Goding, m. of Edric calvus.	
Henlow, 342	...	1	6	1.3	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	150	Anschill.	
Henlow, 343	...	1	3	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.3	100	2 socmen, m. of Anschill.	
Chicksand, 344	3	3.0	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	4 socmen.	
Chicksand, 345	...	1	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	Suetein, m. of Ulmar.	
Stondon, 346	...	1	5	2.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3.0	150	Ulmar and 5 socni. his m.	
BURGESSES OF BEDFORD.																			
Biddenham, 347	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	same Osgar.	
Biddenham, 348	...	1	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	same Godwin (partly).	
Biddenham, 349	...	1	3	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	same Ordui (partly).	
Biddenham, 350	...	1	...	0.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	same Ulmar.	
2 KING'S SERVICE.																			
Hinwick, 351	...	1	1	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	father of tenant.	
Sharnbrook, 352	...	1	...	0.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	40	father of tenant.	
Beeston, 353	...	1	...	0.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	same tenant.	
Henlow, 354	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	same tenant.	
Arlesey, 355	...	1	...	0.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
fo. 218d. KING'S REEVES AND ALMSMEN.																			
Eversholt, Woburn, and Potsgrove, 356	...	1	1	2.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	30	5 socmen.	
Potsgrove, 357	...	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Oswi, m. of E. Tosti.	
Priestley, 358	...	1	1	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	50	4 thanes.	
Maulden, 359	...	1	2	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	100	2 socmen of Kg. Edw.	
Tempsford, 360	...	1	3	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	6 socmen.	
Edworth, 361	...	1	2	2.2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	Branting, m. of Kg. Edw.	
Holme, 362	...	1	2	1.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	Aluric and Lemar, bedells.	
Sutton, 363	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.4	100	2 socmen.	
Streatley, 364	...	1	...	0.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	Ulmar presbyter.	
Sutton, 365	...	1	3	1.0	[2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	Alwin and Edward.	
Carlton, 366	...	1	5	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	375	same m. and Alli.	
Wymington, 367	...	6	...	0.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	...	father of tenants.	
Goldington, 368	...	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	same tenant.	
Stanford, 369	...	1	...	0.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	same tenant.	
Stanford, 370	...	1	[0.2]	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.4	100	same tenant, Kg's man.	
Beeston, 371	...	1	2	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	25	Dot.	
Westcotts, 372	...	1	2	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	same tenant, Kg's man.	
Dean, 373	...	11	1.3	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	same tenants.	
Dean, 374	...	1	...	0.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	same tenant.	
Hanefeld, 375	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	same tenant.	
In Stodden Hund., 376	...	2	3	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	father of tenant.	
Milton Ernest, 377	...	1	...	0.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	father of tenant.	
Bromham, 378	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	...	same tenant.	
Turvey, 379	...	1	...	0.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	100	same tenant.	
In Willey Hund., 380	...	1	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	100	1 socman.	
Wymington, 381	...	1	...	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	same tenant.	
FORINSEC LANDS.																			
ROBERT DE TODENI.																			
Barworth, a	...	1	1	7	5.0	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	133	Oswi s. of Frane.	
ST. PAUL, LONDON.																			
Kensworth, b	14	10.0	10	...	5.0	2	...	...	...	100	2.0	...	...	3.10	70	Lewin cilt from Kg. Edw.	
Caddington, c	29	10.0	10	...	4.0	1	...	...	...	100	2.0	...	...	5.10	91	Lewin from Kg. Edw.	
GILBERT S. OF SALOMON.																			
Meppershall, d	7	3.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Lewin thane of Kg. Edw.	
THE KING.																			
Westoning, e	23	5.0	14	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	400	3.0	7	...	...	...	Earl Harold.	
ROBERT DE OGLI.																			
Polehanger, f	...	1	4	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	Aluric m. of E. Waltheof.	
BISHOP OF LINCOLN.																			
Pertenhall, g, h	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	...	Alwin [Deule].	
WILLIAM DE WARENA.																			
Keysoe, i	...	1	7	0.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Allic.	
Swineshead, j, k	...	1	12	3.2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	...	...
EUSTACE, SHERIFF.																			
Swineshead, l, m	...	1	1	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	...	Furfa.	
KING'S THANES.																			
Keysoe, n	...	1	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	...	same Alwin.	
RANULF BRO. OF ILGER.																			
Everton, o	21	7.0	18	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	Ingewar.	
WILLIAM PEVEREL.																			
Farnish, p	...	2	...	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Podington, q	4	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Column I	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	

TABLE V: SYNTHESIS OF THE ESTATES OF TENANTS IN CHIEF

TENANT IN CHIEF	DEPENDENTS			ESTATE		DEMESNE			MILLS		WOOD		MEADOW		ESTATE			DEMESNE	
	Undertenants	Socmen, Soldiers, Small Holders	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	Hidage	Team-lands	Carucates	Hides	Teams	Number	Value	Eels	Pannage for Swine	Dues	Teams	Dues	Valet 1086	Danegeld at 2s. per hide	Valet	p.c. of Q.R.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx
BISHOP OF BAYEUX. ...	5	25	90	29.1	50½	...	2.0	4	...	...	...	300	1.0	6	...	40 6 8	2 18 6	10.0	80
BISHOP OF COUTANCES ...	5	29	173	56.1	70	...	8.3	9½	1	20.0	...	500	...	8	...	48 2 0	5 12 6	18.15	136
BISHOP OF LINCOLN ...	...	...	25	10.2½	11½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	18 12 0	1 1 2	...	...
BISHOP OF DURIAM ...	...	...	20	12.2½	12	...	3.2	3	2	26.8	...	...	...	3	...	9 0 0	1 5 4	9.0	100
ABBOT OF ST. EDMUND ...	...	1	22	8.2	8½	...	4.2	4	2	33.4	...	...	...	5	...	7 6 0	17 0	7.0	157
ABBOT OF PETERBORO' ...	...	...	4	2.2	2½	...	...	(1)	...	29.8	...	...	...	2	...	1 10 0	5 0	1.10	60
ABBOT OF RAMSLY ...	3	...	170	51.1½	62	...	10.0	9½	4	29.8	...	1360	...	18	...	50 6 4	5 2 9	45.15	100
ABBOT OF WESTMINSTER ...	...	...	18	6.2	6	...	3.0½	2	2	20.0	...	...	...	1	...	5 0 0	13 0	5.0	100
ABBOT OF THORNEY ...	...	...	14	2.1	5	1	2.1	1	...	...	...	106	...	1	...	3 0 0	4 6	3.0	150
ABBESS OF BARKING ...	...	...	40	10.0	11	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	400	...	8	...	8 0 0	1 0 0	8.0	100
ST. PAUL, LONDON ...	...	...	7	5.0	6	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	200	...	...	...	2 0 0	10 0	2.0	400
ST. PAUL, BEDFORD ...	...	2	2	1.0	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 13 0	2 0	...	...
ERNUIN PRESBYTER ...	...	...	...	1.0	1	...	...	½	...	...	...	4	...	½	...	0 10 0	2 0	0.10	200
EARL EUSTACE ...	6	1	50	14.3½	40	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	21 7 0	1 9 8	...	...
WALTER GIFFARD ...	9	...	85	39.0½	55	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	28 1 4	3 18 2	...	...
WILLIAM DE WARENNE ...	...	24	15	9.3½	14½	...	...	4½	...	...	...	100	...	2	...	9 2 0	19 8	2.2	87
WILLIAM DE OW ...	2	5	91	26.3½	34	...	4.0	4½	...	...	...	100	...	4	...	28 1 0	2 13 7	10.10	112
MILES CRISPIN ...	...	3	37	5.1½	31	10	5.0	8	1	40.0	...	200	0.6	6	...	24 10 0	10 9	24.0	100
ERNULF DE HESDING ...	...	...	80	15.2½	30	10	...	7	...	...	...	300	...	30	...	25 2 0	1 11 2	25.2	100
EUDO DAPIER ...	9	11	171	72.1½	65½	...	21.1	11	5	96.6	100	400	...	33	...	53 1 0	7 4 10	32.10	167
WILLIAM FEVEREL ...	1	1	10	10.1	8½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6 1 4	1 0 6	...	...
HUGH DE BEAUCHAMP ...	30	24	528	173.3½	215½	...	21.0	30	11	243.4	900	1630	10.0	41½	...	106 17 6	17 7 7	85.12	158
NIGEL D'ALBINI ...	24	1	282	106.2½	136	...	7.1½	13½	1	6.0	...	850	3.0	20	...	81 13 0	10 3 2	20.0	105
WILLIAM SPECH ...	10	2	160	62.2½	66½	...	17.3	9½	3½	66.0	260	220	...	25½	...	47 14 0	6 5 1	26.10	136
ROBERT DE TODENI ...	5	...	41	12.1	18½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10 0 0	1 4 6	...	...
GILBERT DE GAND ...	...	...	10	10.0	7	...	5.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 10 0	1 0 0	5.10	100
ROBERT DE OILGI ...	1	1	7	0.3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 10 0	1 6	...	...
RANULF BRO. OF ILGER ...	1	...	14	5.0	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3 0 0	10 0	...	...
ROBERT FAHON ...	...	...	10	5.0	6	...	2.0	2	...	...	...	50	...	6	...	3 0 0	10 0	3.0	100
ALURED DE LINCOLN ...	1	...	10	3.0	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0 0	6 0	...	...
WALTER FLEMING ...	10	1	159	41.1½	63½	...	6.1	7	3	63.4	200	76	...	23½	2.0	50 3 0	4 8 10	22.0	110
WALTER BRO. OF SEIER ...	1	...	49	14.0	20	...	4.0	1	...	...	...	300	...	8	...	14 0 0	1 8 0	6.0	60
HUGH FLEMING ...	...	1	20	4.1½	6½	...	0.2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3 10 0	8 8	3.0	125
HUGH PINCKNA ...	...	...	6	3.0	4	...	1.0	2	...	...	...	200	...	1	...	2 1 0	6 0	2.1	78
SIGAR DE CIOCHES ...	...	...	20	2.0	5	2	2.0	2	...	...	...	60	...	1	...	4 0 0	4 0	4.0	133
GUNFRID DE CIOCHES ...	1	...	3	1.3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0	3 6	...	...
RICHARD S. OF E. GILBERT ...	1	...	...	2.1½	½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 11 0	4 9	...	...
RICHARD PUNCIANT ...	1	...	21	10.1	10	...	4.1	3	...	...	...	60	...	...	...	9 10 0	1 0 6	8.0	133
WILLIAM CAMERARIUS ...	1	...	12	8.1	7½	...	3.3	2	1	3.0	...	20	...	4	...	3 10 0	16 6	3.5	100
WILLIAM LOVET ...	...	...	20	10.0	12	...	4.0	4	3	14.0	...	100	...	10	...	4 10 0	1 0 0	4.10	108
WILLIAM ...	...	...	6	2.0	2½	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2 0 0	4 0	2.0	200
HENRY S. OF AZOR ...	...	...	2	1.0	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	½	...	0 10 0	2 0	0.10	100
OSBERN S. OF RICHARD ...	4	...	2	2.2½	3½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 7 0	5 3	...	...
OSBERN S. OF WALTER ...	...	11	3.0	3	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	3 0 0	6 0	3.0	150
OSBERN PISCATOR ...	...	9	1.3½	3	...	...	...	2	1	1.4	...	10	...	2½	...	2 6 0	3 9	2.6	180
TURSTIN CAMERARIUS ...	...	13	6.2½	7	...	3.1½	3	...	...	...	...	20	...	6½	...	5 0 0	13 4	5.0	166
GILBERT S. OF SALOMON ...	...	21	11.2	12	...	9.0	6	...	...	...	...	200	10.0	11	...	11 0 0	1 3 0	11.0	70
ALBERT OF LORRAINE ...	...	72	23.0½	29	3.0	4.0	9	1	16.0	...	590	...	...	18	...	21 10 0	2 6 6	21.10	152
DAVID DE ARGENTON ...	...	...	4	1.0	1	...	...	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0	2 0	0.10	50
RALF DE INSULA ...	...	...	38	16.1½	23	...	5.2	15	2	47.0	...	...	...	15	...	31 0 0	1 12 9	31.0	182
GOZELIN BRITO ...	...	...	12	10.0	8½	...	3.0	3½	1	16.0	...	100	...	6	...	3 10 0	1 0 0	3.10	75
COUNTESS JUDITH ...	22	15	274	85.3½	118½	...	6.2½	9	2	10.0	...	204	...	34	...	83 16 6	8 11 11	36.5	150
ADELIZ DE GRENTMESNIL ...	2	1	58	18.1	20½	...	5.0	2½	1	30.0	...	22	...	10½	...	17 6 0	1 16 6	10.6	112
AZELINA TAILLEBOIS ...	9	3	66	32.0	34½	...	6.1	5	1	18.0	...	104	3.0	7	...	28 3 0	3 4 0	15.0	106
BURGESSES OF BEDFORD ...	2	2	3	2.2½	2½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 3 0	5 3	...	...
? KING'S SERVICE ...	...	5	1	1.3½	1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 14 0	3 7	...	...
KING'S SERVICE ...	8	33	26	19.0½	20½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10 15 0	1 8 3	...	...
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	xviii	xix	xx

TABLE VI: SUMMARY OF PRIMARY TENANCIES, 1086

	Undertenants	Socmen, soldiers & small holders	Villans, bordars and serfs		Hidage		Team-lands		Valet 1086				Danegeld at 2s.	
			number	p.c.	b. v.	p.c.	number	p.c.	li.	s.	d.	p.c.	li.	s.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii		xiii	
Bedford Town ...	...	...	...	...	1.0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 0	...
Royal Land ...	3	...	339	9.7	95.0	7.8	172½	10.8	2 0 0	7.7	9 10 0	...	...	...
Church Land ...	21	57	591	17.0	146.3½	16.1	247½	15.6	194 6 0	16.2	19 13 9	...	...	...
Baron Land ...	151	94	2508	72.3	888.3½	73.3	1136	71.8	824 3 4	73.2	88 17 10	...	...	...
Burgess Land ...	2	2	3	...	2.2½	0.1	2½	0.1	1 3 0	...	5 3	...	...	...
King's service ...	8	38	27	0.7	20.3½	1.6	22½	1.3	11 9 0	1.6	2 1 10	...	...	...
Totternhoe ...	...	...	...	...	5.0	0.4	...	...	...	...	10 0	...	...	...
Total ...	185	191	3468	99.7	1210.1½	99.3	1580½	99.6	1033 1 4	98.7	121 0 8	...	...	...
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii			

TABLE VII: SYNTHESIS OF ESTATES OF SUB-TENANTS, 1086

UNDERTENANT	VILL	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	ESTATE		Demesne tenants	MILLS			WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		s. @ 6/- per hide	TENANT IN CHIEF
			Hidge	Team-lands		Number	Value	Eels	Swine	Dues	Teams	Dues	1086	% of Q.R.		
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii
Acard de Ivri ...	Aspley Guise, 138 ...	25	10.0	12	2	1	10.0	...	50	...	10	...	8.0	160	60.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Adelulf can. of Bp. Odo ...	Totternhoe, 205 ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Almar ...	Sharnbrook, 352 ...	...	0.04	...	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	40	0.9	? King's service.
Alric (T.R.E.) ...	Henlow, 354 ...	...	0.1	...	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	1.6	? King's service.
Alric ...	Southill, 247 ...	...	0.1	...	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	166	1.6	Walter Fleming.
Alric (T.R.E.) ...	Stanford, 369 ...	...	0.04	...	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	0.4	King's service.
Alric Wintremelc (T.R.E.) ...	Goldington, 368 ...	...	0.2	...	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3.0	King's service.
Aluric presbyter ...	Riseley, 146 ...	...	4	0.2	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Alwin ...	Sutton, 109 ...	...	1	0.3	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.6	200	4.6	Eudo dapifer.
Alwin ...	Sutton, 315 ...	...	3	1.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.8	...	6.0	Countess Judith.
Alwin ...	Sutton, 363 ...	...	0.14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.4	100	2.3	King's service.
Alwin (T.R.E.) ...	Sutton, 365 ...	...	3	1.0	[2]	1	...	...	...	...	2	1.0	1.0	100	6.0	King's service.
Alwin ...	Beeston, 371 ...	...	2	0.14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	25	2.3	King's service.
Alwin ...	Chilton, 329 ...	...	1.0	...	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	6.0	Countess Judith.
Alwin presbyter (T.R.E.) ...	Turvey, 379 ...	...	0.03	...	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	100	1.0	King's service.
Alwin reeve ...	Tempsford, 360 ...	...	3	1.04	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	1.10	King's service.
Alwin, King's reeve ...	Edworth, 361 ...	...	2	2.2	2	(2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	15.0	King's service.
Alwin, King's reeve ...	Holme, 362 ...	...	2	1.2	14	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	100	9.0	King's service.
Alwold ...	Rushden, 35 ...	...	0.2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3.0	Bishop of Coutances.
Ambrose ...	Tilsworth, 120 ...	...	19	10.0	8	1	...	...	100	...	6	...	6.0	150	60.0	William Peverel.
Anschetil presbyter ...	Great Barford, 160 ...	...	10	1.2	2	1	7.0	...	...	...	1	...	2.0	100	9.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Ansfred, Canon ...	Biddenham, 66 ...	...	0.1	...	($\frac{1}{2}$)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	100	1.6	St. Paul, Bedford.
Ansgot of Rochester ...	Eversholt, 11 ...	...	5	1.0	2	(1)	...	...	50	...	1	...	1.0	66	6.0	Bp. of Bayeux.
Ansgot of Rochester ...	Milton Brian, 12 ...	...	15	4.0	4	1	...	...	30	...	4	...	4.0	100	24.0	Bp. of Bayeux.
Baldric ...	Studham, 224 ...	...	15	6.0	6	2	...	...	100	...	...	...	4.0	200	36.0	Robert de Toden.
Basset, see Richard and William.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bedford, Canous of ...	see St. Paul.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bernard ...	Carlton, 199 ...	...	5	1.04	14	(14)	13.4	...	...	...	1	...	2.0	200	6.9	Nigel d'Albini.
Bernard ...	Astwick, 166 ...	...	5	1.1	24	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	7.6	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Bernard ...	Henlow, 343 ...	...	3	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.3	100	6.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Blosseville, see Gilbert.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bolchec, see Hugh.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Branting ...	Cople, 174 ...	...	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	6.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Brodo (T.R.E.) ...	Eyworth, 338 ...	...	1	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	100	6.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Brofeg, see Osbert.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burnard ...	Arlesey, 97 ...	...	23	6.04	6	1	10.0	...	...	...	6	...	7.0	100	37.0	William de Ow.
Caron, see William.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chelbert (also T.R.E.) ...	Carlton, 366 ...	...	5	0.34	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	375	5.3	King's service.
Chetel ...	Carlton, 198 ...	...	5	1.14	14	(14)	...	...	...	...	14	...	1.0	200	8.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Crispin, see Milo.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Dere, see Godwin.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Domnic ...	Blunham, 113 ...	...	0.1	4	(4)	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	0.2	66	1.6	Eudo dapifer.
Ederic (T.R.E.) ...	Sutton, 321 ...	...	1	0.2	4	(4)	...	...	...	...	4	...	0.5	100	3.0	Countess Judith.
Edward ...	Hinwick, 351 ...	...	1	0.2	4	(4)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3.0	? King's service.
Elstow, Abbess of ...	Maulden, 294 ...	...	9	5.14	5	2	3.0	...	100	...	5	...	3.0	75	32.1	Countess Judith.
Elstow, Abbess of ...	Wilshamstead, 296 ...	...	23	3.0	6	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	7.6	324	18.0	Countess Judith.
Elstow, Abbess of ...	Elstow, 297 ...	...	28	3.2	7	2	24.0	...	60	...	4	...	5.0	250	21.0	Countess Judith.
Engeler ...	Stondon, 316 ...	...	5	2.2	24	2	...	...	...	...	24	...	3.0	150	15.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Erfast ...	Shelton (Redb.), 184 ...	...	4	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	40	...	...	...	1.0	133	6.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Erfast ...	Marston, 186 ...	...	20	8.04	10	3	...	...	300	...	...	...	7.0	140	48.9	Nigel d'Albini.
Erfast ...	Henlow, 207 ...	...	13	4.3	54	2	5.0	...	...	...	5	...	5.10	137	28.6	Nigel d'Albini.
Erfast ...	Arlesey, 208 ...	...	...	0.34	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.17	100	5.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Ernauld ...	Houghton Couquest, 331 ...	...	21	4.2	6	2	...	...	225	...	2	...	4.0	133	27.0	Adeliz de Grentmaism.
Ernuin presbyter ...	Biddenham, 39 ...	...	1	1.1	1	...	25.0	...	...	...	1	...	2.0	100	7.6	Bishop of Lincoln.
Ernuif de Arde ...	Bromham, 68 ...	...	...	1.2	14	(14)	...	...	...	...	14	...	0.10	50	9.0	Count Eustace.
Ernuif de Arde ...	Stevington, 69 ...	...	23	3.0	24	1	...	...	20	...	4	...	14.0	70	18.0	Count Eustace.
Ernuif de Arde ...	Pavenham, 71 ...	...	2	2.2	3	0	20.0	...	...	...	3	...	1.5	62	15.0	Count Eustace.
Ernuif de Arde ...	Turvey, 72 ...	...	2	1.0	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	50	6.0	Count Eustace.
Ernuif de Arde ...	Odell, 73 ...	...	12	4.24	[5]	1	...	...	50	...	3	...	3.0	60	27.6	Count Eustace.
Eudo dapifer ...	Wyboston, 55 ...	...	...	0.14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.14	...	2.3	Abbot of Ramsey.
Eudo dapifer (mesne) ...	Lit. Barford, 56 ...	...	16	5.0	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.0	133	30.0	Abbot of Ramsey.
Froissart, see William.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Fulbert ...	Campton, 98 ...	...	1	0.2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3.0	William de Ow.
Fulcher parisiensis ...	Stratton, 81 ...	...	6	1.14	2	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	1.8	100	8.3	Walter Giffard.
Fulcher parisiensis ...	In Biggles. Hundr., 203 ...	...	1	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.7	70	3.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Fulcher parisiensis ...	Holme, 204 ...	...	3	1.04	2	(2)	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.0	200	6.9	Nigel d'Albini.
Fulcher de parisis ...	Stratton, 310 ...	...	6	0.34	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.8	100	5.3	Countess Judith.
Fulcher [de parisis] ...	Holme, 311 ...	...	1	0.2	4	(4)	...	...	...	...	4	...	0.7	100	3.0	Countess Judith.
Geoffrey de Traillgi ...	Yielden, 22 ...	...	30	10.0	15	4	...	...	20	...	4	...	9.0	180	60.0	Bp. of Coutances.
Geoffrey de Tralgi ...	In Willey Hund., 28 ...	...	23	4.0	5	2	...	...	...	...	4	...	5.0	100	24.0	Bp. of Coutances.
Germund (rear) ...	Cudsand, 82 ...	...	5	3.2	3	1	0	...	40	...	3	...	2.0	200	21.0	Walter Giffard.
Gilbert de Blosseville ...	Harrold, 306 ...	...	10	10.0	16	1	36.8	200	200	...	6	...	6.0	37	60.0	Countess Judith.
Gilbert [s. of Salomon] ...	Felmersham, 304 ...	...	6	3.2	3	1	10.0	...	...	...	1	...	3.0	60	21.0	Countess Judith.
Gleu ...	Wymington, 232 ...	...	10	3.0	4	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	2.0	80	18.0	Alured de Lincoln.
Godfrey ...	Dean, 36 ...	...	10	2.04	34	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	2.0	133	12.9	Bp. of Lincoln.
Godfrey ...	Riseley, 38 ...	...	2	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	20	...	4	...	0.10	100	6.0	Bp. of Lincoln.

TABLE VII: SYNTHESIS OF ESTATES OF SUB-TENANTS, 1086

UNDERTENANT	VILL	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	ESTATE		Team-lands	Denesme teams	MILLS			WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		@ 6/- per hide	TENANT IN CHIEF
			Hidage	Team-lands			Number	Value s. d.	Leels	Swine	Dues s. d.	Teams	Dues s. d.	tosg li. s.	% of Q.R.		
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	
sbert de Broilg	Bletsoe, 148	...	11	2.2	4	1	10.0	...	100	...	1	...	3.0	100	15.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.	
sberrn de Broilg	Sharnbrook, 152	...	...	0.1½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	2.3	Hugh de Beauchamp.
sberrn	Bletsoe, 301	...	12	2.2	4	1	10.0	...	100	...	1	...	3.0	100	15.0	Countess Judith.	
sberrn [s. of Walter] (rear)	Little Barford, 56	...	16	5.0	5	1	12.0	125	...	...	2	...	4.0	133	30.0	Eudo fr. Abb. Ramsey.
sberrn	In Barford Hund., 308	...	6	2.3	3	2	...	...	200	...	1	...	2.0	400	16.6	Countess Judith.
sberrt	Totternhoe, 233	...	28	10.0	10	2	10.8	...	150	...	4	...	8.0	80	60.0	Walter Fleming.	
sberrt	Wymington, 238	...	13	4.0	5	3	...	...	...	...	2	...	3.0	100	24.0	Walter Fleming.
sberrt	Wymington, 239	...	...	0.2	...	0	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	50	3.0	Walter Fleming.
sgar de Bedeford (T.R.E.)	Biddenham, 347	...	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	1.6	Burgesses of Bedford.
siet (T.R.E.)	Bromham, 178	...	...	0.1½	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	...	2.6	King's service.
siet, King's reeve	In Willey Hund., 380	...	...	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	100	3.0	King's service.
smund, Canon	Biddenham, 65	...	2	0.3	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	100	4.6	St. Paul, Bedford.
aris, see Fulcher.																	
assaquam, see Ralf.																	
sirot	Beeston, 116	...	1	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	200	6.0	Eudo dapifer.
sirot	Northill, 117	...	4	1.2	1½	(1)	1	14.0	...	...	1½	...	1.0	200	9.0	Eudo dapifer.
sirot	Streatley, 196	...	9	4.1½	6	2	...	...	20	...	3	...	4.0	200	26.0	Nigel d'Albini.
sirot	Wyboston, 202	...	18	9.1	9	4	...	...	...	...	2	...	6.0	150	55.6	Nigel d'Albini.
alf	Northill, 118	...	8	1.2	2	(2)	...	...	100	...	2	...	3.0	150	9.0	Eudo dapifer.
alf	Eversholt, 140	...	19	7.2	8	2	...	...	100	...	8	...	5.0	166	45.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
alf de Langetot	Dunton, 79	...	6	1.3	2	(2)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.13½	100	10.6	Walter Giffard.
alf de Langetot	Millo, 80	...	12	5.0	5	(5)	...	...	...	...	...	...	5.0	100	30.0	Walter Giffard.
alf de Langetot (mesne)	Cudsand, 82	...	5	3.2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	200	21.0	Walter Giffard.
alf de Langetot	Campton, 83	...	4	4.2½	4	1	3.3	...	40	...	4	...	3.0	300	27.4	Walter Giffard.	
alf Passaquam	Holcote, 209	...	14	4.0	3	1	5.4	...	50	...	...	...	3.0	300	24.0	William Spech.
alf (jointly)	Biddenham, 212	...	10	3.2½	4	2	10.0	...	...	...	4	...	2.0	200	21.9	William Spech.
tanulf bro. of Ilger	Everton, 323	...	9	5.0	5	(2)	...	...	...	...	1	...	3.0	60	30.0	Countess Judith.
aynald	Cople, 171	...	2	1.1	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	200	7.6	Hugh de Beauchamp.
ainald	Milton Ernest, 234	...	3	2.0	3	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	1.0	100	12.0	Walter Fleming.
aynald	Thurleigh, 241	...	4	0.2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	3.0	Walter Fleming.
richard	Goldington, 163	...	6	3.0	3	2	...	...	...	...	2	...	2.0	400	18.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
richard Basset	Thurleigh, 228	...	6	0.2	2	(1)	...	...	30	...	...	...	2.0	100	3.0	Robert d'Oilli.
richard Talehot	Battlesden, 76	...	17	[8.0]	8	2	...	...	...	...	8	...	5.0	100	48.0	Walter Giffard.
Robert s. of Rozelin	Sharnbrook, 74	...	11	2.0	4	2	...	...	60	...	2	...	2.0	100	12.0	Count Eustace.
Robert	Sharnbrook, 253	...	2	0.2½	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	200	3.4	Hugh Fleming.
Robert s. of Nigel	Pavenham, 230	...	14	5.0	6	1	...	...	...	...	6	...	3.0	75	30.0	Ranulf bro. of Ilger.
Robert	Cople, 170	...	8	4.0	4	2	...	...	100	...	1	...	3.0	300	12.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Robert	Cople, 175	...	...	0.3	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.7½	100	4.6	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Robert	Battlesden, 264	...	...	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3.0	William camerarius.
Robert	Tempsford, 261	...	4	2.0	2	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.10	150	12.0	Richard Pungiant.
Robert	Sutton, 317	...	3	0.3½	1	1	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.8	100	5.3	Countess Judith.
Robert (jointly)	Sutton, 318	...	1	0.1½	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.4	100	2.3	Countess Judith.
rochester, see Ansgot.																	
Roger	Stanford, 169	...	5	1.0	1½	(1½)	5.0	...	16	...	1½	...	0.15	300	6.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.	
Roger	Stanford, 340	...	3	2.0	2	1	13.4	...	30	...	2	...	3.0	300	12.0	Azelina Taillebois.	
Roger (jointly)	Pulloxhill, 195	...	26	10.0	13	2	...	...	100	...	6	...	10.0	125	60.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Roger presbyter (jointly)	Cople, 176	...	...	0.2½	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.5	100	3.9	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Roger s. of Teodric...	Goldington, 162	...	5	2.0	3	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.10	150	12.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Rolland	Beeston, 114	...	7	3.0	3	2	...	...	...	...	3	...	1.10	150	18.0	Eudo dapifer.
ros, see Serlo.																	
riwalo	Chawston, 155	...	2	1.0	2	...	...	...	60	...	2	...	0.10	66	6.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Rualon	Roxton, 156	...	3	1.1	1	...	...	...	4	...	1	...	0.10	50	7.6	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Rualon	Great Barford, 157	...	11	3.0	4	3	22.0	80	...	...	2	...	3.0	200	18.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Ruallon (jointly)	Pulloxhill, 195	...	26	10.0	13	2	...	...	100	...	6	...	10.0	125	60.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Saet (T.R.E.)	Hanefeld, 375	...	...	0.1	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	1.6	King's service.
St. Edmund, Abb. of	Blunham, 328	...	...	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.0	200	3.0	Countess Juath.
St. Neot, Prior of (T.R.E.)	Sudbury, 258	...	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.6	Richard s. of E. Gilbert.
St. Neot, Prior of (T.R.E.)	Wyboston, 259	...	...	2.0½	1	0	...	...	100	...	...	...	0.11	100	12.9	Richard s. of E. Gilbert.
St. Nicholas of Angers	Henlow, 207	...	...	0.3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4.6	Nigel d'Albini.
St. Paul, Bedford	Harrowden, 325	...	10	3.0	3	(3)	...	...	...	...	2	...	1.10	150	18.0	Countess Judith.
Salomon presbyter	Thurleigh, 229	...	1	0.1	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	1.6	Robert d'Oilli.
Serlo de Ros	Biddenham, 149	...	2	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	100	6.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Serlo de Ros	Bromham, 150	...	27	6.0	6	2	20.0	125	40	...	6	...	7.0	140	36.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.	
Serlo de Ros (jointly)	Biddenham, 212	...	10	3.2½	4	2	10.0	...	...	...	4	...	2.0	200	21.9	William Spech.
Stefan	Shelton (Redb.), 185	...	2	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	12	...	1	...	0.6	200	3.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Sueting (jointly)	Sutton, 318	...	1	0.1½	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.4	100	2.3	Countess Judith.
Taillebois, see Ivo.																	
Taisel, see Wimund.																	
Talebot, see Richard.																	
Fedric	Staughton, 90	...	...	0.1½	1	1	...	...	24	...	1	...	0.10	100	1.10	William de Warenne.
Fedbald	Eaton Socon, 103	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	200	10.6	Gunfrid de Cioches.
Fetbald	Hinwick, 257	...	3	1.3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	200	11.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Fetbaud	Gl. Barford, 161	...	10	1.3½	3	2	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.10	125	9.0	Countess Judith.
Forchil	Sutton, 314	...	4	1.2	1½	(1)	...	...	...	...	1½	1.4	0.10	100	3.0	Bp. of Bayeux.
Fovi presbyter	Bolnhurst, 13	...	2	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	30	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Frailli, see Geoffrey.																	
Furbert	Sutton, 319	...	4	2.0	2	1	...	...	...	...	2	...	1.0	100	12.0	Countess Judith.
Turchil (T.R.E.)	Wymington, 381	...	...	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	6.0	King's service.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii	

TABLE VII: SYNTHESIS OF ESTATES OF SUB-TENANTS, 1086

UNDERTENANT	VILL	Villans, Bordars and Serfs	ESTATE		Demene tenants	MILLS			WOOD		MEADOW		VALET		s. d.	TENANT IN CHIEF
			Hidge h. v.	Team-lands		Number	Value s. d.	Fels	Swine	Dues s. d.	Teams	Dues s. d.	1086 li. s.	% of Q.R.		
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii	viii	ix	x	xi	xii	xiii	xiv	xv	xvi	xvii
Turgis ...	Husborne Crawley, 179...	9	5.0	5	2	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	1.10	75	30.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Turgis ...	In Mansh. Hund., 180 ...	2	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	...	10	...	...	...	0.15	150	6.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Turgis ...	Tingrith, 181 ...	6	2.1	3	1	...	...	...	150	...	3	...	2.0	133	13.6	Nigel d'Albini.
Turgis ...	Priestley, 182 ...	5	1.2	2	(2)	...	...	...	40	...	2	...	1.0	100	9.0	Nigel d'Albini.
Turgis ...	Milton Ernest, 197 ...	7	2.3	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	1.10	100	16.6	Nigel d'Albini.
Turgis englishman ...	Sharubrook, 31 ...	1	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.6	200	3.0	Bishop of Coutances.
Turgot, and mother ...	In Stodden Hund., 376 ...	3	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	0.10	100	3.0	King's service.
Turstin ...	Cainhoe, 336 ...	4	1.0	2	1	...	...	...	100	...	1	...	1.0	200	6.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Turstin ...	Hinwick, 30 ...	4	1.2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	...	9.0	Bp. of Coutances.
Ulmar burgensis (T.R.E.) ...	Biddenham, 350 ...	...	0.04	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	0.1	Burgesses of Bedford.
Ulsi, King's prebendary ...	Arlsey, 355 ...	...	0.04	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	? King's service.
Uluric ...	Holme, 96 ...	...	0.3	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.16	133	4.6	William de Ow.
Walter monachus ...	Wardon, 341 ...	1	0.2	1	0	...	...	...	40	...	1	...	0.10	50	3.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Walter ...	Chicksand, 345 ...	...	1.0	1	(1)	1	10.0	...	50	...	1	...	1.0	100	6.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Walter ...	Northill, 177 ...	...	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Walter ...	Goldington, 164 ...	2	1.0	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.15	150	6.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Walter ...	Streatley, 93 ...	8	1.0	2	1	...	...	...	20	...	1	...	1.10	150	6.0	William de Ow.
Walter [? Fleming] ...	Hinwick, 213 ...	...	1.0	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	6.0	William Spech.
Walter [? Fleming] ...	Wymington, 214 ...	...	0.3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	20	4.6	William Spech.
Warner ...	Turvey, 151 ...	5	1.0	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	6.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Wast, see Nigel.																
Wenelinc ...	Astwick, 167 ...	3	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	200	3.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Widrus ...	Henlow, 342 ...	6	1.3	2	(2)	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1.10	150	10.6	Azelina Taillebois.
William Basset ...	Milton Ernest, 147 ...	7	1.34	3	2	...	...	...	6	...	2	...	1.10	100	11.3	Hugh de Beauchamp.
William camerarius ...	Luton Ch., 5 ...	18	5.0	6	1	1	10.0	...	50	...	...	...	3.0	...	30.0	The King.
William camerarius ...	Houghton Regis Ch., 7 ...	...	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.12	...	3.0	The King.
William de Caron ...	Staughton, 37 ...	4	0.24	1	(1)	...	...	...	100	...	1	...	0.15	150	3.9	Bp. of Lincoln.
William de Caron ...	Tempsford, 41 ...	1	1.14	2	...	2	40.0	120	...	...	1	...	3.0	150	8.7	Bp. of Lincoln.
William de Caron ...	Clifton, 42 ...	5	3.04	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	1.0	100	18.9	Bp. of Lincoln.
William de Caron ...	Chicksand, 43 ...	...	0.2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	3.0	Bp. of Lincoln.
William de Caron ...	Tempsford, 107 ...	14	4.1	4	2	1	12.0	...	...	...	4	...	3.0	100	25.6	Eudo dapifer.
William de Caron ...	Southill, 110 ...	...	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.3	...	3.0	Eudo dapifer.
William de Caron ...	Stanford, 111 ...	5	4.0	4	2	2	29.0	50	60	2.0	4	...	4.0	200	24.0	Eudo dapifer.
William de Caron ...	Clifton, 119 ...	13	6.2	4	2	2	40.0	150	...	...	4	...	5.0	125	30.0	Eudo dapifer.
William de Caron ...	Clifton, 206 ...	...	2.0	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	0.15	150	12.0	Nigel d'Albini.
William dap. of the Bp.	Shelton (Stod.), 23 ...	22	5.0	6	2	1	3.0	...	4	...	1	...	5.0	125	30.0	Bp. of Coutances.
William dap. of the Bp.	Newton, 27 ...	...	0.1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.1	100	1.6	Bp. of Coutances.
William Froissart ...	Milton Brian, 141 ...	13	6.0	6	3	...	...	...	40	...	6	...	6.0	150	36.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
William Froissart ...	Gravenhurst, 142 ...	11	3.2	4	2	...	...	...	100	...	4	...	3.0	100	21.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
William Gros ...	Chawston, 216 ...	2	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	3.0	William Spech.
William de Locels ...	Streatley, 143 ...	13	4.1	6	1	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	4.0	200	25.6	Hugh de Beauchamp.
William de Locels ...	Higham Gobion, 144 ...	21	8.0	11	4	...	...	...	100	...	6	...	8.0	100	48.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
William s. of Rainald ...	Steppingley, 210 ...	16	5.0	7	14	...	...	...	100	...	7	...	4.0	200	30.0	William Spech.
William s. of Rainward ...	Chawston, 215 ...	19	7.1	7	1	1	13.4	...	10	...	7	...	6.0	150	43.6	William Spech.
Wimund ...	Staughton, 145 ...	8	0.2	3	(3)	...	...	...	40	...	...	...	1.10	150	3.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Wimund ...	Wyboston, 154 ...	...	0.04	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.2	100	0.9	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Wimund de Taisel ...	Gt. Barford, 158 ...	23	5.24	11	5	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	2.0	200	34.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Wimund de Taisel ...	Colmworth, 159 ...	26	5.0	10	2	...	...	...	200	...	...	...	5.0	100	30.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
Wimund (rear) ...	Turvey, 17 ...	...	1.0	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.0	50	6.0	Bp. of Bayeux.

NOT NAMED.

6 Englishmen and	Riseley, 25	14	6.0	7	(7)	...	...	...	200	...	3	...	3.12	100	36.0	Bp. of Coutances.
2 Frenchmen	Southill, 219	22	5.04	7	4	...	...	...	200	...	7	...	4.10	112	30.9	William Spech.
2 Frenchmen	Edworth, 95	15	7.34	8	3	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	8.0	80	47.3	William de Ow.
2 soldiers	Oakley, 225	15	4.0	8	3	1	26.0	200	...	...	4	...	4.0	100	24.0	Robert de Todeni.
2 soldiers	Turvey, 226	11	2.1	44	2	...	...	...	10	...	1	...	2.0	66	13.6	Robert de Todeni.
2 men of Ctes. J.	Holme, 312	...	0.1	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.5	100	1.6	Countess Judith.
2 socmen	Bolnhurst, 14	2	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	0.10	100	3.0	Bp. of Bayeux.
2 socmen (rear)	Carlton, 16	...	1.1	14	(14)	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	1.64	88	7.6	Bp. of Bayeux.
4 socmen	Staughton, 24	...	0.3	1	(1)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.10	100	4.6	Bp. of Coutances.
7 socmen	Sharubrook, 32	...	3.0	3	(3)	...	...	...	24	...	...	...	1.4	100	18.0	Bp. of Coutances.
3 socmen	Dean, 84	6	2.0	3	(3)	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1.10	100	12.0	William de Warenne.
2 socmen	Milton Ernest, 99a	...	0.044	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.9	Miles Crispin.
7 socmen	Stanford, 112	...	0.045	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.4	Eudo (Hugh de Beauchamp).
11 socmen	Salpho, 137	...	5.0	8	(8)	...	...	...	50	...	2	...	5.0	100	30.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
3 socmen	Cudsand, 178	1	2.0	14	(14)	...	...	...	4	...	14	...	1.0	100	12.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.
3 socmen	Chicksand, 344	...	3.0	2	(1)	...	...	...	20	...	2	...	1.0	100	18.0	Azelina Taillebois.

FORINSEC LAND.

Alwin	Keysoe, n.	1	0.1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0.14	...	...	King's service.
Baldric	Barworth, a	7	5.0	3	2	...	...	...	100	...	1	...	2.0	133	30.0	Robert de Todeni.
Eustace (Sheriff)	Swineshead, j, k	12	3.2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2.0	...	...	William de Warenne.
Martel	Polehanger, f	4	0.2	1	(1)	...	...	...	2	...	1	...	0.10	100	...	Robert de Oligi.
Ralf	Swineshead, l, m	1	0.2	1	0.6	Eustace the Sheriff.
William de Warenne	Pertenball, g, h	...	0.1	1	0.5	Bp. of Lincoln.

Column i

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TABLE VIII: ESTATES OF SAXON HOLDERS (SOCMEI. OMITTED)

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(The entries under each name are not in strict alphabetical order.)

SAXON HOLDER.	VILL.	Hidage. h. v.	SUCCESSOR.	SAXON HOLDER.	VILL.	Hidage. h. v.	SUCCESSOR.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	Column i	ii	iii	iv
Ailmar, see Almar				{ Alwin Horini, King's thane...	Flitton, 231.	5.0	Robert Fafiton.
Albert of Lorraine (T.R.W.) ...	Chalgrave, 283.	8.0½	Albert of Lorraine	{ Alwin, King's thane ...	Flitwick, 267.	5.0	William Lovet.
(Ælfstan or Ealistan)				{ Alwin presbyter (also T.R.W.) ...	Turvey, 379.	0.0½	Alwin presbyter.
Alestan de Boscumbe, King's				{ Alwin, man of Borred ...	Sharnbrook 31.	0.2	Bp. of Coutances.
thane ...	Sundon, 91.	10.0	William de Ow.	{ Alwin, man of Borred ...	Newton, 27.	0.1	Bp. of Coutances.
Alestan de Boscumbe ...	Edworth, 95.	7.3½	William de Ow.	{ Alwin Sac, man of Bp. of			
Alestan de Boscumbe ...	Arlesey, 97.	6.0½	William de Ow.	Lincoln ...	Goldington, 40.	0.2	Bp. of Lincoln.
Alestan, King's thane: God-				Alwin, man of Bp. Wulwi ...	Thurleigh, 229.	0.1	Robert d'Oilli.
win, man of ...	Streatley, 93.	1.0	William de Ow.	Alwin, bro. of Bp. Wulwi ...	Maulden, 78.	3.0	Waher Giffard.
Alestan: Godmar, man of ...	Millo, 94.	0.2	William de Ow.	Alwin, man of Alestan ...	Campton, 98.	0.2	William de Ow.
Alestan de Boscumbe: 2 soc-				{ Alwin, man of Kg. Edward...	Stratton, 310.	0.3½	Countess Judith.
men, men of ...	Edworth, 95.	1.2	William de Ow.	{ Alwin, man of Kg. Edward...	Holme, 311.	0.2	Countess Judith.
Alestan de Boscumbe: 1 soc-				Alwin, socman (jointly) ...	Battlesden, 334.	1.2	Azelina Taillebois.
man, man of ...	Arlesey, 97.	0.2½	William de Ow.	Alwin (T.R.W.) ...	Sutton, 365.	0.3	King's service.
Alestan: Alwin, man of ...	Campton, 98.	0.2	William de Ow.				
Alestan ...	Cople, 173.	0.1	Hugh de Beau-	(Æthelweald).			
			champ.	Alwold, man of Kg. Edward			
(Ælfled).				(jointly) ...	Bromham, 68.	1.2	Count Eustace.
Alfreda (from the King) ...	Bolnhurst, 62.	2.1	Abbot of Thorney	Adeloid, King's thane ...	Stevington, 69.	3.0	Count Eustace.
(Ælfgar)				Alwold, King's thane ...	Pavenham, 71.	2.2	Count Eustace.
Algar, man of Qu. Edith ...	Sharnbrook, 286.	2.0½	Albert of Lorraine	Alwold, King's thane ...	Turvey, 72.	1.0	Count Eustace.
Algar, Earl: Auti house-carl				Alwold, King's thane ...	Odell, 73.	4.2½	Count Eustace.
of ...	Milton Brian, 141.	6.0	William Froissart.	Alwold, man of Kg. Edward...	Sharnbrook 74.	2.0	Count Eustace.
Ali, King's thane ...	Felmersham, 304.	3.2	Countess Judith.	Alwold, King's thane ...	Maulden, 294.	5.1½	Countess Judith.
Ali, King's thane ...	Carlton, 366.	0.2½	Chelbert (wrong-	Alwold of Stevinton: man of	Turvey, 17.	1.0	Bp. of Bayeux.
			fully).	Alwold, man of Bp. Wulwi...	Hinwick, 252.	1.2	Hugh Fleming.
Ali: Alsi, man and bro. of ...	Pavenham, 277.	2.2	Turstin Chamber-				
			lain.	(Anscehtil, Ansceyl)			
(Ælfmar or Æthelmar)				Aschil, King's thane ...	Keysoe, 122.	4.3	Hugh de Beau-
Almar, man of Anschil ...	Goldington, 163.	3.0	Hugh de Beau-	Aschil ...	Riseley, 123.	1.0	Hugh de Beau-
Almar, man of Aluric of Flit-			champ.	Aschil, King's thane ...	Putnoe, 124.	4.0	Hugh de Beau-
wick ...	Steppingley, 210.	5.0	William Spech.	Aschil, King's thane ...	Chainhulle, 126.	5.0	Hugh de Beau-
{ Almar, man of E. Tosti ...	Wootton, 284.	10.0	Albert of Lorraine	Aschil, King's thane ...	Putnoe, 127.	0.2	Hugh de Beau-
{ Almar, man of E. Tosti ...	Shelton (Redb.) 285.	3.0	Albert of Lorraine	Anschild, King's thane ...	Willington, 132.	10.0	Hugh de Beau-
Almar, King's thane ...	Bolnhurst, 299.	0.2	Countess Judith.	Aschil, King's thane ...	Stotfold, 133.	15.0	Hugh de Beau-
Almar, man of Ulmar ...	Wyboston, 337.	1.1½	Azelina Taillebois.	Aschil, King's thane ...	Hawnes, 136.	5.0	Hugh de Beau-
Almar, father of ...	Sharnbrook, 352.	0.0½	Almar (? King's	Aschil, King's thane ...	Streatley, 143.	4.1	Hugh de Beau-
			service).	Aschil ...	Bletsoe, 148.	2.2	Hugh de Beau-
Almar (Ailmar) de Ow ...	Stanford, 169.	1.0	Hugh de Beau-	Aschil, King's thane ...	Wyboston, 154.	0.0½	Hugh de Beau-
			champ.	Aschil, King's thane ...	Colmworth, 159.	5.0	Hugh de Beau-
(Æthelric or Ælfric).				Achi, King's thane ...	Cople, 173.	0.3	Hugh de Beau-
Alric (also T.R.W.) ...	Henlow, 354.	0.1	? King's service.	Aschil, King's thane ...	Henlow, 342.	1.3	Azelina Taillebois.
Alric ...	Southill, 110.	0.0½	Eudo dapifer.	Aschil ...	Hockliffe, 335.	10.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Alric (also T.R.W.) ...	Stanford, 369.	0.0½	King's service.	Aschil: Avigi, man of ...	Staughton, 87.	0.1	claimed by H. de
Alric, King's thane ...	Weburn, 75.	10.0	Walter Giffard.	Aschil: Alueva, man of ...	Holme, 96.	0.3	William de Ow.
Alric, s. of Goding: Suglo,				Aschil: Godwin, man of ...	Maulden, 134.	0.2½	Hugh de Beau-
man of ...	Manshead Hun-	1.0	Nigel d'Albini.	Aschil: 1 socman, man of ...	Streatley 143.	1.0	Hugh de Beau-
	dred, 180.			Aschil: Oviat, man of ...	Staughton, 145.	0.2	Hugh de Beau-
Alric, s. of Goding: Alward,				Aschil: Almar, man of ...	Goldington, 163.	3.0	Hugh de Beau-
man of ...	Shelton (Redb.) 184.	1.0	Nigel d'Albini.	Aschil: 1 socman, man of ...	Holme, 165.	0.1	Hugh de Beau-
Alric: Alward bekrap, man of	Holcote 209.	4.0	William Spech.	Anschild: 2 socmen, men of ...	Henlow, 343.	1.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Alric Wintremelc (also T.R.W.)	Goldington, 368.	0.2	King's service.	Anschild: socman (jointly) ...	Battlesden, 334.	1.2	Azelina Taillebois.
(Ælfsige or Æthelsige)				Asgar staller: Edwin, man of	Riscot, 9.	5.0	The King.
Alsi, man of Qu. Edith ...	Bromham, 150.	6.0	Hugh de Beau-	Auti, house carl of E. Algar...	Milton Brian, 141.	6.0	Hugh de Beau-
Alsi of Bromham, man of Qu.			champ.				champ.
Edith ...	Biddenham, 149.	1.0	Hugh de Beau-	Avigi, man of Anschil ...	Staughton 87.	0.1	William de
Alsi, man of Qu. Edith ...	Eaton Bray, 10.	12.1	Bp. of Bayeux.	Avigi ...	Staughton, 88.	1.1	William de
Alsi, man of Ali his brother ...	Pavenham, 277.	2.2	Turstin	Avigi: Blach, man of ...	Staughton, 89.	0.1	William de
			camerarius.				Warrenne.
(Ælfifu)				Aschil: Almar, man of ...	Goldington, 163.	3.0	Hugh de Beau-
Alueva, 'man' of Anschil ...	Holme, 96.	0.3	William de Ow.	Aschil: 1 socman, man of ...	Holme, 165.	0.1	Hugh de Beau-
(Ælfic)				Anschild: 2 socmen, men of ...	Henlow, 343.	1.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Aluric, King's thane ...	Cainhoe, 193.	4.0	Nigel d'Albini.	Anschild: socman (jointly) ...	Battlesden, 334.	1.2	Azelina Taillebois.
Aluric parvus, King's thane ...	Silsoe, 194.	2.0	Nigel d'Albini.	Asgar staller: Edwin, man of	Riscot, 9.	5.0	The King.
Aluric parvus: Aluric, man of	Streatley, 211.	0.0½	William Spech.	Auti, house carl of E. Algar...	Milton Brian, 141.	6.0	Hugh de Beau-
Aluric, man of Aluric parvus...	Streatley, 211.	0.0½	William Spech.				champ.
Aluric, bedell (jointly) ...	Holme, 362.	1.2	King's service.	Avigi, man of Anschil ...	Staughton 87.	0.1	William de
{ Aluric, man of Borred ...	Sharnbrook, 33.	0.2	Bp. of Coutances.	Avigi ...	Staughton, 88.	1.1	William de
{ Aluric, man of Borred ...	Rushden, 35.	0.2	Bp. of Coutances.	Avigi: Blach, man of ...	Staughton, 89.	0.1	William de
Aluric of Flitwick: Almar,							Warrenne.
man of ...	Steppingley, 210.	5.0	William Spech.	Azelin, man of E. Tosti ...	Harrowden, 325.	3.0	Countess Judith.
(Ælfweard)				Azelin, man of E. Tosti ...	Cardington, 326.	3.1½	Countess Judith.
{ Alward Bekrap, man of Alric...	Holcote, 209.	4.0	William Spech.				
{ Alward, man of Alric s. of				(Atser)			
Goding ...	Shelton (Redb.) 184.	1.0	Nigel d'Albini.	Azor, man of Bored ...	Bolnhurst, 13.	0.2	Bp. of Bayeux.
Alward, man of Bp. Wulwi ...	Turvey, 201.	1.0½	Nigel d'Albini.				
(Ælfwine)				Barking, Abbess of (T.R.W.)	Liddington, 63.	10.0	Abbess of Barking
Alwin Deule, man of Kg. Ed-				Bedeford, see Godwin, Ordni.			
ward ...	Tempsford, 41.	1.1½	Bp. of Lincoln.	Osgar, Ulmar			
Alwin Deule, man of Kg. Ed-				Bekrap, see Alward			
ward ...	Clifton, 42.	3.0½	Bp. of Lincoln.				
Alwin Deule ...	Chicksand, 43.	0.2	Bp. of Lincoln.				
Alwin Deule, man of Bp. of							
Lincoln ...	Staughton, 37.	0.2½	Bp. of Lincoln.				
Alwin, man of Earl Harold ...	Segresdon, 255.	0.1	Hugh pincerna.				
Alwin, man of Stori ...	Riseley, 271.	0.2	Osbern s. of				
			Richard.				
Alwin, man of Stori ...	Elvendon, 273.	1.1	Osbern s. of				
			Richard.				
Column i	ii	iii	iv	Column i	ii	iii	iv

TABLE VIII: ESTATES OF SAXON HOLDERS (SOCMEN OMITTED)

SAXON HOLDER.	VILL.	Hidage. h. v.	SUCCESSOR.	SAXON HOLDER.	VILL.	Hidage. h. v.	SUCCESSOR.
Column i	ii	iii	iv	Column i	ii	iii	iv.
(Blec)				Edward, King: men of	Elstow, 297.	3.2	Countess Judith.
Blach, man of Avigi	Staughton, 89.	0.1	William de Warene.	" " "	Bletsoe, 301.	2.2	Countess Judith.
Bondi the staller	Streatley 364.			" " "	Stagsden, 303.	1.0	Countess Judith.
(Borgred)				" " "	Sharnbrook, 307.	0.3	Countess Judith.
Burret	Knottling, 19.	5.0	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Stratton, 310.	0.3½	Countess Judith.
Burret	Melchbourne, 20.	10.0	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Holme, 311.	0.2	Countess Judith.
Borred	Yielden, 22.	10.0	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Holme, 312.	0.1	Countess Judith.
Burrod	Riscley, 25.	6.0	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Sutton, 316.	0.2	Countess Judith.
Borred, King's thane	Sharnbrook, 34.	0.2	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Sutton, 321.	0.2	Countess Judith.
Bored: Azor, man of	Bolnhurst, 13.	0.2	Bp. of Bayeux.	" " "	Cople, 327.	0.1	Countess Judith.
Borret: 6 socmen, men of	Dean, 21.	4.0	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Blunham, 328.	0.2	Countess Judith.
Borret: Ulueva, under	Shilton (Stod.), 23.	5.0	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Clifton, 329.	1.0	Countess Judith.
Burrod: 4 socmen, men of	Staughton 24.	0.3	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Maulden, 359.	0.2	King's service.
Burrod: 6 socmen, men of	Riscley, 25.	4.0	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Edworth, 361.	2.2	King's service.
Borred: Alwin, man of	Newton, 27.	0.1	Bp. of Coutances.	" " "	Goldington, 368.	0.2	King's service.
Borret: Alwin, man of	Sharnbrook, 31.	0.2	Bp. of Coutances.	Edward, man of Abb. of St.	Sutton, 318.	0.1½	Countess Judith.
Borred: 7 socmen men of	Sharnbrook, 32.	3.0	Bp. of Coutances.	Alban	Sutton, 365.	n.1	King's service.
Borred: Aluric, man of	Sharnbrook, 33.	0.2	Bp. of Coutances.	Edward: father of	Hinwick, 351.	n.2	? King's service.
Borred: Aluric, man of	Rushden, 35.	0.2	Bp. of Coutances.	Edward wit [? Wulward	Chalgrave, 102.	0.0½	Ernulf de
Borgred: Leuric, man of	Wymington, 214.	0.3	William Spech.	lewet]			Hesdiug.
Borret: Godwin, man of	Milton Ernest, 333.	3.1	Adeliz de Grentmaisnil.	(Eadwine)			
Boscombe, see Alestan				Edwin, man of Asgar staller...	Biscot, 9.	5.0	The King.
Branting, man of Kg. Edward	Edworth, 361.	2.2	King's service.	(Earnwine)			
(Beorhtic)				Ernuin presbyter: father of	Harrowden, 67.	1.0	Ernuin presbyter.
Brictric, King's thane (under				Etone, see Ulmar			
Ransey)	Clapham, 99.	5.0	Milo Crispin.				
Brictric: Leuric, man of	Thurleigh, 100.	0.1	Milo Crispin.				
Brictric: 2 socmen, men of	Milton Ernest, 234.	2.0	Walter Fleming.				
Brodo (also T.R.W.)	Eyworth, 338.	1.0	Azelina Taillebois.				
Brunham, see Alsi							
Canterbury: see Stigand							
(Ceolbeorht)							
Chelbert, man of Qu. Edith							
(also T.R.W.)	Carlton, 366.	0.1	King's service.				
Dere, see Godwin							
Dorchester, see Wulwi							
Dot	Beeston 371.	0.1½	King's service.				
(Eadric)							
Ederic, man of Kg. E. (T.R.W.)	Sutton, 321.	0.2	Countess Judith.				
Edric calvus: Goding, man of	Wardon, 341.	0.2	Azelina Taillebois.				
(Eadgyth)							
Edith, Queen: man of	Sewell, 8.	3.0	The King.				
" " " "	Eaton Bray, 10.	12.1	Bp. of Bayeux.				
" " " "	Bromham, 150.	6.0	Hugh de Beau-				
" " " "	Thurleigh, 153.	0.2	champ.				
" " " "	Sharnbrook, 286.	2.0½	Hugh de Beau-				
" " " "	Carlton, 366.	n.1	cham.				
Edward, King (ancient			Albert of Lorraine				
demesne)	Leighton, 2.	26.0	King's service.				
Edward, King (ancient							
demesne)	Luton 4.	25.0	King William.				
Edward, King (ancient							
demesne)	Houghton Regis, 6.	10.0	King William.				
Edward, King (escheat)	Potton, 313.	10.0	Countess Judith.				
Edward, King (escheat)	Charlton, 332.	10.0	Adeliz de				
Edward, King: men of			Grentmaisnil.				
" " " "	Stagsden, 15.	3.3	Bp. of Bayeux.				
" " " "	Bolnhurst, 26.	0.3	Bp. of Coutances.				
" " " "	In Willey Hund.,	4.0	Bp. of Coutances.				
" " " "	28.						
" " " "	Turvey, 29.	4.0	Bp. of Coutances.				
" " " "	Tempsford, 41.	1.1½	Bp. of Lincoln.				
" " " "	Clifton, 42.	3.0½	Bp. of Lincoln.				
" " " "	Harrowden, 67.	1.0	Ernuin presbyter.				
" " " "	Chawston, 105.	1.1	Fudo dapifer.				
" " " "	Stagsden, 125.	5.0	Hugh de Beau-				
" " " "			champ.				
" " " "	Roxton, 156.	1.1	Hugh de Beau-				
" " " "			champ.				
" " " "	Gt. Barford, 157.	3.0	Hugh de Beau-				
" " " "			champ.				
" " " "	Cnple, 172.	1.0½	Hugh de Beau-				
" " " "			champ.				
" " " "	Northill, 177.	0.2	Hugh de Beau-				
" " " "			champ.				
" " " "	Chawston, 216.	0.2	William Spech.				
" " " "	Husborne Craw-	5.0	William Lovet.				
" " " "	ley, 266.						
Column i	ii	iii	iv.	Column i	ii	iii	iv

TABLE VIII: ESTATES OF SAXON HOLDERS (SOCMEN OMITTED)

SAXON HOLDER.	VILL.	Hidage. h. v.	SUCCESSOR.	SAXON HOLDER.	VILL.	Hidage. h. v.	SUCCESSOR.
Column I	II	III	IV	Column I	II	III	IV
Harold, Earl: men of (jointly)	Stagsden, 125.	5.0	Hugh de Beau- champ.	(Morkere)	Luton, 5.	5.0	William camerarius.
" " " ...	Segresdon, 255.	0.1	Hugh pincerna.	Morcar presbyter ...	Potsgrove, 263.	1.0	William camerarius.
" " " ...	Riseley, 287.	1.0	David de Argentein.	Morcar presbyter de Luitone	Battlesden, 264.	0.2	William camerarius.
" " " ...	Oakley, 300.	1.0	Countess Judith.	Morcar presbyter			
" " " ...	Bromham, 302.	2.0	Countess Judith.				
Homdai, man of E. Harold ...	Riseley, 287.	1.0	David de Argentein.				
Horim, see Alwin							
Lant, man of Levenot Kg's thane	Wymington, 238.	4.0	Walter Fleming.	{ Norman	Beeston, 114.	3.0	Eudo dapifer.
Lant	Wymington, 367.	0.3	King's service.	{ Norman (also T.R.W.)	Beeston, 115.	4.0	Eudo dapifer.
(Leodmar).				Ordric, man of Levenot	Thurleigh, 241.	0.2	Walter Fleming.
Ledmar, man of E. Tosti (T.R.W.)	Astwick, 168.	0.2	Hugh de Beau- champ.	(Ordwig)			
(Leofmar).				{ Ordul de Bedeford (T.R.W.)	Biddenham, 48.	0.2	Abb. of St. Edmund.
Lemar, King's thane	Stanford, 220.	1.0	William Spech.	Ordul, Burgess of Bedford (T.R.W.)	Biddenham, 349.	0.2	Burgesses of Bedford.
Lemar, bedell (jointly)	Holme, 362.	1.0	King's service.	{ Ordul, man of Kg. Edward (T.R.W.)	Stanford, 370.	[0.21]	King's service.
(Leofsig)				Ordul, man of Kg. Edward (T.R.W.)	Westcotts, 372.	0.1	King's service.
Lepsi, man of E. Tosti	Houghton Con- quest, 295.	0.2	Countess Judith.	Ordul: man of	Sutton, 320.	0.3	Countess Judith.
(Leofgar)				Osgar de Bedeford (T.R.W.)	Biddenham, 347.	0.1	Burgesses of Bedford.
Levegar, man of Kg. Edward (T.R.W.)	Sutton, 316.	0.2	Countess Judith.	(Osgeat)			
(Leofnoth)				Osiet, man of King Edward	Northill, 177.	0.2	Hugh de Beau- champ.
Levenot, King's thane	Totternhoe, 233.	15.0	Walter Fleming.	Osiet (T.R.W.)	Bromham, 378.	0.1	King's service.
Levenot, King's thane	Turvey, 235.	1.0	Walter Fleming.	(Oswulf).			
Levenot, King's thane	Odell, 236.	5.1	Walter Fleming.	{ Osulf s. of Frane, King's thane	Studham, 224.	6.0	Robert de Todeni.
Levenot, King's thane	Podington, 237.	1.3	Walter Fleming.	Osulf, King's thane	Oakley, 225.	4.0	Robert de Todeni.
Levenot, King's thane	Thurleigh, 240.	3.0	Walter Fleming.	Osulf, King's thane	Turvey, 226.	2.1	Robert de Todeni.
Levenot, King's thane	Segenhe, 249.	10.0	Walter bro. of Seiher.	(Oswig)			
Levenot, King's thane	Silsoe, 250.	4.0	Walter, bro. of Seiher.	Oswi, man of E. Tosti	Potsgrove, 357.	0.2	King's service.
Levenot: Golderon, man of ...	Carlton, 198.	1.1	Nigel d'Albini.	Oviet, man of Aschil	Staughton, 145.	0.2	Hugh de Beau- champ.
Levenot, King's thane: Lant, man of	Wymington, 238.	4.0	Walter Fleming.	Oviet, King's thane	Thurleigh, 228.	0.2	Robert d' Oilgi.
Levenot: Ordric, man of	Thurleigh, 241.	0.2	Walter Fleming.	Oviet, man of Kg. Edward	Sharnbrook, 307.	0.3	Countess Judith.
(Leofgifu)				Ow, see Almar			
Levea, commended to E. Waltheof	Aspley Gulse, 138.	10.0	Hugh de Beau- champ.	Peterborough, Abbot of	Stanwick, 51.	2.2	Abbot of Peterborough.
Levea, man of Kg. Edward	Bleisoe, 301.	2.2	Countess Judith.	Ramsey, Abbot of (T.R.W.)	Cranfield, 52.	10.0	Abb. of Ramsey.
(Leofgeat)				" " " " "	Barton, 53.	11.0	" " "
Leviet presbyter (T.R.W.)	Biddenham, 65.	0.3	Leviet, then St. Paul, Bedford.	" " " " "	Pegsdon, 54.	10.0	" " "
(Leofric)				" " " " "	Wyboston, 55.	0.1	" " "
Leuric, man of Bp. of 'Lin- coln'	Biddenham, 39.	1.1	Bp. of Lincoln.	" " " " "	Lit. Barford, 56.	5.0	" " "
Leuric, man of Kg. Edward (jointly)	Bromham, 68.	1.2	Connt Eustace.	" " " " " : tenant of (T.R.W.)	Clifton, 57.	1.0	" " "
Leuric, man of Brihtric (T.R.W.)	Thurleigh, 100.	0.1	Milo Crispin.	" " " " " : (T.R.W.)	Shillington, 58.	10.0	" " "
Leuric, s. of Osmund, King's thane	Tillsworth, 120.	10.0	William Peverel.	" " " " " : (T.R.W.)	Holwell, 59.	3.2	" " "
Leuric, man of Borgred	Wymington, 214.	0.3	William Spech.	" " " " " : (T.R.W.)	Stondon, 60.	0.2	" " "
Leuric, man of Abb. of Ram- sey	Sharnbrook, 253.	0.2	Hugh Fleming.	" " " " " : tenant of	Clapham, 99.	5.0	Milo Crispin.
Lewet, see Wulward				(Ræfan)			
(Leofwine)				{ Ravan, man of Ulmar of Eton	Beeston, 116.	1.0	Eudo dapifer.
Lewin, cilt	Caddington, 64.	5.0	St. Paul, London.	{ Ravan, man of Ulmar of Eton	Northill, 117.	1.2	Eudo dapifer.
Lewin cilt (& 3 Kg's thanes)	Strealey, 106.	4.1	Nigel d'Albini.	(Sageat)			
Lewin cilt, King's thane	Beeston, 222.	0.3	William Spech.	Saiet (also T.R.W.)	Hanefeld, 375.	0.1	King's service.
Lewin, King's thane	Stratton, 242.	1.1	Walter Fleming.	St. Alban, Abbot of	Stotfold, 133.	1.0	Hugh de Beau- champ.
Lewin, King's thane	Astwick, 244.	0.1	Walter Fleming.	{ St. Alban, man of Abbot of ...	Sutton, 318.	0.1	Countess Judith.
Lewin, King's thane	Langford, 245.	10.0	Walter Fleming.	{ St. Neot, Prior of (T.R.W.)	Sudbury, 258.	0.1	Richard s. of Gilbert.
Lewin, King's thane (in pledge)	Southill, 247.	0.1	Walter Fleming.	" " " " "	Wyboston, 259.	2.0	Richard s. of Gilbert.
Lewin cilt, King's thane	Meppershall, 281.	7.0	Gilbert s. of Salomon.	(Sæmæ)			
Lewin, man of Earl Waltheof	Totternhoe, 265.	6.3	William camerarius.	Samar presbyter, m. of Ctes. Goda	Rushden, 121.	0.1	William Peverel.
Lewin: Samar, man of	In Bigglesw. Hund. 203.	0.2	Nigel d'Albini.	Samar, man of Lewin	In Biggl. Hund. 203.	0.2	Nigel d'Albini.
Lewin (T.R.W.)	Clifton, 57.	1.0	Abb. of Ramsey.	Starcher, King's thane	Leighton, 2.	7.0	The King.
Lincoln, Bp. of: see Wulwi...				Stigand, archbishop [of Can- terbury]	Dnnton, 260.	8.1	Richard Pungiant
Lorraine, Lotharensis, see Albert				" " " " "	Southill, 262.		Richard Pungiant
(Mærwen)				" " " " "	Stratton, 288.	4.0	Ralf de Insula.
Marwen	Biddenham, 66.	0.1	St. Paul, Bedford.	" " " " "	Biggleswade, 289.	10.0	Ralf de Insula.
Moding, man of Qu. Edith ...	Thurleigh, 153.	0.2	Hugh de Beau- champ.	" " " " " : 4 socmen.	Holme, 290.	2.0	Ralf de Insula.
				men of	Dunton, 79.	1.3	Walter Giffard.

TABLE VIII: ESTATES OF SAXON HOLDERS (SOCMEN OMITTED)

SAXON HOLDER.	VILL.	Hidage. h. v.	SUCCESSOR.	SAXON HOLDER.	VILL.	Hidage. h. v.	SUCCESSOR.
Column i	ii	iii	iv.	Column i	ii	iii	iv.
Stori, man of E. Tosti ...	Staughton, 270.	0.2½	Osbern s. of Richard.	Ulmur de Bedeford (T.R.W.)	Biddenham, 350.	0.0½	Burgesses of Bedford.
Stori: Alwin, man of ...	Riseley, 271.	0.2	Osbern s. of Richard.	Ulmur presbyter of Kg. Edward	Biddenham, 48.	0.2	Abbot of St. Edmund.
Stori: Alwin, man of ...	Elvendon, 273.	1.1	Osbern s. of Richard.	Ulmur presbyter ...	Streatley, 364.	0.0½	King's service.
(Swetman)				Ulmur, man of Ordui ...	Sutton, 320.	0.3	Countess Judith.
Sueteinan, man of Ulmar ...	Chicksand, 345.	1.0	Azelina Taillebois.	(Ulfmod)			
Suglo, m. of Alric s. of Goding	In Mans. Hund. 180.	1.0	Nigel d' Albini.	Ulnod, man of Ulsi s. of Borgret	Hinwick, 213.	1.0	William Spech.
Suglo, man of Alric s. of Goding (Fuglo)	Shelton (Redb.) 185.	0.2	Nigel d' Albini.	(Wulfsige)			
				Ulsi s. of Borgret: Ulnod, man of	Hinwick, 213.	1.0	William Spech.
Thorney, Abbot of (T.R.W.)...	Bolnhurst, 62.	2.1	Abbot of Thorney.	Ulua (under Borret)	Shelton (Stod.) 23.	5.0	Bp. of Coutances.
(Festig)				(Ulfrie)			
Tosti, Earl [of Hunts. and Northants.]	Potton, 309.	0.2	Countess Judith.	Ulfrie, man of Kg. Edward	Clifton, 329.	1.0	Countess Judith.
Tosti, Earl (escheat to Kg. Ed. 1065)	Potton, 313.	10.0	Countess Judith.	Ulfrie, King's socman	Canho, 330.	1.0	Azelina Taillebois.
Tosti, Earl (escheat with Potton)	Hatley 322.	3.2½	Countess Judith.	(Walraeten)			
Tosti, Earl (escheat with Potton)	Everton, 323.	5.0	Countess Judith.	Walrave, man of Qu. Edith ...	Sewell, 8.	3.0	The King.
Tosti, Earl (escheat to Kg. Edw. 1065)	Charlton, 332.	10.0	Adel de Grentmaisnil.	Waltham, Canons of ...	Millo, 46.	4.2	Bp. of Durham.
Tosti, Earl: Ledmar man of	Astwick, 168.	0.2	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Waltham, Canons of ...	Arlesey, 47.	8.0½	Bp. of Durham.
Tosti: 2 thanes, men of Earl	Clophill, 192.	5.0	Nigel d' Albini.	Waltham: Earl ...	Kenemondwick, 49.	3.3	Abb. of St. Edmund.
Tosti: Stori, man of	Staughton, 270.	0.2½	Osbern s. of Richard.	Waltham: Leveva, com- mended to Earl	Aspley Guise, 138.	10.0	Hugh de Beau champ.
Tosti: Almar, man of	Wootton, 284.	10.0	Albert of Lorraine	Waltham, Earl: Tuffa, man of	Southill, 324.	1.0	Countess Judith.
Tosti: Almar, man of	Shelton (Redb.) 285.	3.0	Albert of Lorraine	Waltham, Earl: Lewin, man of	Tollernhoe, 265.	6.3	William camerarius
Tosti: Lepsi, man of	Houghton Conquest, 295.	0.2	Countess Judith.	Wenot, man of Godric the sheriff	Riseley, 146.	0.2	Hugh de Beau champ.
Tosti: Azelin, man of	Harrowden, 325.	3.0	Countess Judith.	Wenesi camerarius	Leighton, 2.	10.0	The King.
Tosti: Azelin, man of	Cardington, 326.	1.1½	Countess Judith.	Westminster, Abbot of (T.R.W.)	Holwell, 61.	6.2	Abb. of Westminster.
Tosti: Oswi, man of	Potsgrove, 357.	0.2	King's service.	Wig, King's thane	Staughton, 254.	2.3	Hugh pincerna.
(Tofig)				Wig, King's thane	Staughton, 256.	2.0	Sigar de Cioches.
Tovi, huscarle of Kg. Edward	Sharnbrook, 275.	0.2	Osbern fisherman.	(Wigod)			
Tovi, huscarle of Kg. Edward	Radwell, 305.	2.2½	Countess Judith.	Wigot, King's huntsman	Gladley, 293.	2.2	Gozelin Brito.
Tuffa, man of Earl Waltham...	Southill, 324.	1.0	Countess Judith.	Wintremelc, see Alric			
(Thurbeorht)				Wit, see Edward			
Turbert, man of Kg. Edward	In Willey Hund., 28.	4.0	Bp. of Coutances.	(Wulfweard)			
(Thurcytel)				Wulward le wet	Toddington, 101.	15.0	Ernulf de Hiesding.
Turchil, King's thane	Saliford, 139.	5.0	Hugh de Beauchamp.	(Wulfwig)			
Turchil (also T.R.W.)	Wymington, 381.	1.0	King's service.	Wulwi, Bishop [of Dorchester and Lincoln]	Leighton, 3.	4.0	Bishop of Lincoln.
(Thurgis)				Lincoln: Alwin Deule, man of Bp. of	Staughton, 37.	0.2½	Bishop of Lincoln.
Turgis, King's thane	Eversholt, 140.	7.2	Hugh de Beauchamp.	Lincoln: Leuric, man of Bp. of	Biddenham, 39.	1.1	Bishop of Lincoln.
(Thurgod)				Lincoln: Alwin Sac, man of Bp. of	Goldington, 40.	0.2	Bishop of Lincoln.
Turgot: father of, King's thane	In Stodden Hund., 376.	0.2	King's service.	Wulwi: Alward, man of Bp.	Turvey, 201.	1.0½	Nigel d' Albini.
Ulf, King's thane	Edlesborough, 227.	10.0	Gilbert of Gand.	Wulwi: Alward, man of Bp.	Thurleigh, 229.	0.1	Robert d' Oilli.
(Ulfac)				Wulwi: Alward, man of Bp.	Hinwick, 252.	1.2	Hugh Fleming.
Ulfch, King's steersman	In Barf. Hund., 308.	2.3	Countess Judith.	Wulwi: bro. of Bishop, see Alwin.			
(Ulfmar)				(Wulfwine)			
Ulmur de Etone, King's thane	Eaton Socon, 103.	20.0	Eudo dapifer.	Wulwin, m. of Kg. Edward ...	Cople, 327.	0.1	Countess Judith.
Ulmur de Etone, King's thane	Sandy, 108.	16.1	Eudo dapifer.	UNNAMED MEN (not being thanes or socmen)			
Ulmur de Etone, King's thane	Stanford, 111.	4.0	Eudo dapifer.	1 man of Alwold de Stevin- ton	Turvey, 17.	1.0	Bp. of Bayeux.
Ulmur de Etone	Clifton, 110.	6.2	Eudo dapifer.	2 men of Kg. Edward	Chawston, 105.	1.1	Eudo dapifer.
Ulmur de Etone, King's thane	Lit. Barford, 274.	3.0	Osbern s. of Walter.	2 men of Kg. Edward and 1 man of Earl Harold	Stagsden, 125.	5.0	Hugh de Beau champ.
Ulmur, King's thane	Hatley, 339.	5.1½	Azelina Taillebois.	men of the vill in common	Goldington, 164.	1.0	Hugh de Beau champ.
Ulmur de Etone, King's thane	Stondon, 346.	2.2	Azelina Taillebois.	2 men of Kg. Edward	Chawston, 216.	0.2	William Spech.
Ulmur de Etone: 3 socmen, men of	Tempsford, 107.	4.1	Eudo dapifer.	1 man of Kg. Edward	Blunham, 328.	0.2	Countess Judith.
Ulmur de Etone: 1 socman, man of	Stanford, 111.	0.2	Eudo dapifer.	a bedell's father	Milton Ernest, 377.	0.0½	King's service.
Ulmur: 7 socmen, men of	Stanford, 112.	0.0½	Eudo dapifer.	UNNAMED KING'S THANES.			
Ulmur de Etone: Ravan, man of	Beeston, 116.	1.0	Eudo dapifer.	4	Wyboston, 104.	6.3	Eudo dapifer.
Ulmur de Etone: Ravan, man of	Northill, 117.	1.2	Eudo dapifer.	3 and Lewin cilt.	Streatley, 196.	4.1½	Nigel d' Albini.
Ulmur: Almar, man of	Wyboston, 337.	1.1½	Azelina Taillebois.	3	Harrold, 306.	10.0	Countess Judith.
Ulmur King's thane: 2 socmen, men of	Hatley, 339.	0.2½	Azelina Taillebois.	Column i	ii	iii	iv.
Ulmur de Etone: Sueteinan, man of	Chicksand, 345.	1.0	Azelina Taillebois.				
Ulmur de Etone: 5 socmen, men of	Stondon, 346.	2.2	Azelina Taillebois.				

TABLE IX: SOC-LAND, 1066 AND 1086

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No. T.R.E.	VILL	Hid- age h. v.	No. T.R.W.	Notes to T.R.E.	No. T.R.E.	VILL	Hid- age h. v.	No. T.R.W.	Notes to T.R.E.
Col. i	ii	iii	iv	v	Col. i	ii	iii	iv	v
7	Amptill, 188 ...	5.0	...	...	12	Keysoe, 122 ...	3.2	...	...
1	Arlesey, 97 ...	0.2 ²	...	m. of Alestan.	1	Langford, 245 ...	1.0	...	...
2	" 208 ...	0.3 ³	...	...	21	Marston, 186 ...	8.0 ¹	...	...
6	Astwick, 166 ...	1.1	...	...	1	Mauldon, 294 ...	0.0 ²	...	...
3	Barford, Gt., 157 ...	3.0	...	m. of Kg. Edw.	2	" 359 ...	0.2	...	socm. of Kg. Edw.
3	" 158 ...	5.2 ³	...	...	6	Melchbourne, 20 ...	...	...	...
2	" 160 ...	1.2	...	...	4	Meppershall, 281 ...	2.0	...	...
3	" 161 ...	1.3 ¹	...	...	7	Millbrook, 187 ...	?	...	...
7	Battlesdon, 76 ...	[8.0]	...	...	10	Millo, 80 ...	5.0	...	...
2	" 334 ...	1.2	...	...	7	Milton Brian, 12 ...	4.0	...	...
11	Biddenham, 212 ...	3.2 ³	...	...	2	Milton Ernest, 99a ...	0.0 ¹ 72*	...	...
2	Biggleswade, 289 ...	0.2	...	...	6	" 197 ...	2.3	...	...
3	Bletsoe, 148 ...	0.3	...	...	2	" 231 ...	2.0	...	m. of Brihtric.
4	Bhunham, 50 ...	4.1	...	...	2	Northill, 118 ...	1.2	...	...
4	" 113 ...	0.1	...	...	6	" 223 ...	6.2	...	...
2	Bolnhurst, 14 ...	0.2	2*	...	1	Odell, 236 ...	0.2	...	...
7	Broom, 139 ...	5.0	...	...	4	Podington, 251 ...	2.1	...	...
1	Cainhoe, 136 ...	1.0	...	socm. of Kg. Edw.	4	Potton, 313 ...	1.1	2	...
6	Campton, 83 ...	4.2 ¹	...	...	8	Pulloxhill, 195 ...	10.0	...	...
3	" 280 ...	1.3 ²	...	...	10	Radwell, 200 ...	7.1 ¹	...	...
13	Cardington, 131 ...	6.2 ²	...	...	6	Riseley, 25 ...	4.0	...	m. of Borgred.
2	Carlton, 16 ...	1.1	2*	...	4	Roxton, 156 ...	1.1	...	m. of Kg. Edw.
3	" 199 ...	1.0 ¹	...	...	12	" 217 ...	8.3	...	...
2	Chawsten, 155 ...	1.0	...	...	11	Salpho, 137 ...	5.0	11*	...
12	" 215 ...	7.1	...	...	1	Segenbo, 249 ...	0.2	...	...
4	Chicksand, 344 ...	3.0	3	...	7	Sharnbrook, 32 ...	3.0	7*	m. of Borgred.
3	Clifton, 119 ...	1.0 ¹	...	...	3	" 152 ...	0.1 ¹	...	...
4	" 206 ...	2.0	...	...	3	Silsoe, 250 ...	0.2	...	...
8	Colmworth, 159 ...	?	...	...	8	Southill, 129 ...	2.1	...	...
3	Cople, 170 ...	4.0	...	...	16	" 219 ...	5.0 ¹	...	...
2	" 171 ...	1.1	...	...	12	Stagsden, 15 ...	3.3	...	m. of Kg. Edw.
2	" 172 ...	1.0 ¹	...	m. of Kg. Edw.	2	" 303 ...	1.0	...	m. of Kg. Edw.
3	" 174 ...	1.0	...	...	1	Stanford, 111 ...	0.2	...	m. of Ulmar.
2	" 175 ...	0.3	...	...	7	" 112 ...	0.0 ¹ 7	...	m. of Ulmar.
3	" 176 ...	0.2 ¹	...	...	4	" 130 ...	1.0 ¹	...	§ 138.
4	Cudsand, 82 ...	3.2	...	...	2	" 340 ...	2.0	...	...
4	" 178 ...	2.0	3	...	4	Staughton, 24 ...	0.3	4*	m. of Borgred.
6	Dean, 21 ...	4.0	6	§ 138, m. of Borgred.	1	" 254 ...	0.2	...	...
3	" 84 ...	2.0	3*	§ 138.	1	" 270 ...	0.0 ¹	...	...
11	" 373 ...	1.3 ¹	11*	...	2	Steppingley, 210 ...	...	...	m. of ? Almar.
4	Dunton, 79 ...	1.3	...	m. of Stigand.	5	Stendon, 346 ...	...	...	m. of Ulmar.
2	Eaton Socon, 103 ...	?	22	...	7	Stotfold, 133 ...	5.2	...	...
2	Edworth, 95 ...	1.2	...	m. of Alestan.	3	Stratton, 81 ...	1.1 ¹	...	...
4	Elstow, 297 ...	3.2	...	§ 138, m. of Kg. Edw.	1	Streatley, 143 ...	1.0	...	m. of Anschil.
5	Eversholt, Woburn, and Potsgrave, 356 ...	...	...	socm. of Kg. Edw.	2	Sutton, 109 ...	0.3	...	...
20	Eyworth, 218 ...	2.1	...	...	3	" 314 ...	1.2	...	...
3	Farnish, 268 ...	9.0	...	...	6	" 315 ...	1.0	...	...
3	" 269 ...	2.0	...	...	2	" 317 ...	0.3 ¹	...	...
6	Felmersham, 282 ...	1.0	...	...	2	" 319 ...	2.0	...	...
9	Goldington, 128 ...	7.2	...	...	2	" 363 ...	0.1 ¹	...	...
3	" 162 ...	3.1	...	...	2	Tempsford, 106 ...	1.1	...	...
5	Gravenhurst, 142 ...	2.0	...	...	3	" 107 ...	4.1	...	§ 138, m. of Ulmar.
14	Harrowden, 205 ...	3.2	...	...	3	" 261 ...	2.0	...	...
1	Hatley (Wrestl.), 322 ...	6.0	...	...	6	" 360 ...	1.0 ¹	...	...
2	" (Cock.), 339 ...	0.1	...	m. of Ulmar.	20	Tillbrook, 85 ...	5.0	20*	§ 138.
9	Henlow, 207 ...	0.2 ¹	...	...	3	Turvey, 29 ...	4.0	...	m. of Kg. Edw.
6	" 248 ...	5.2	...	...	2	" 151 ...	1.0	...	...
2	" 343 ...	3.2	...	...	8	Wardon, 221 ...	9.0	...	...
5	Higham Gobion, 144 ...	1.0	...	m. of Anschil.	7	Westcotts, 191 ...	2.3	...	...
2	Hinwick, 257 ...	8.0	...	...	24	Wilden, 18 ...	5.0	20	...
1	Holme, 165 ...	1.3	...	Under Anschil.	8	Willington, 132 ...	7.0	...	...
7	" 204 ...	0.1	...	...	8	Wilshamstead, 296 ...	3.0	...	§ 138.
2	" 243 ...	1.0 ¹	...	...	6	Woburn, 75 ...	2.0	...	...
3	" 260 ...	1.0	...	...	12	Wyboston, 202 ...	9.1	...	...
7	Houghton Conquest, 135 ...	0.2	...	...	1	Wymington, 238 ...	1.0	...	...
3	" 331 ...	5.0	...	...	5	Yelden, 22 ...	5.0	...	...
2	Kenemondwick, 49 ...	4.2	1	...	1	Unnamed, 380 ...	0.2	...	...
3	"	3.3	...	...			
Col. i	ii	iii	iv	v	Col. i	ii	iii	iv	v

TABLE X: THANE LAND, 1066

TABLE XI: SUMMARY OF TENANCIES, 1066

No.	VILL	Hidage h. v.	Per cent. of hidage
Col. i	ii	iii	iv
4	Eversholt, 11 ...	1.0	11
2	Marston, 77 ...	1.3 ²	18
9	Husborne Crawley, 179 ...	5.0	50
2	Tingrith, 181 ...	2.1	100
9	Priestley, 182, 358 ...	2.2	100
4	Harlingdon, 183 ...	5.0	100
2	Clophill, 192 ...	5.0	100
4	Potsgrave, 292 ...	7.2	75
2	Kempston, 298 ...	2.3 ¹	28
Col. i	ii	iii	iv

Column i	ii	iii	iv	v
Royal Land ...	...	...	60.2	4.9
Church Land ...	...	...	133.3	10.9
Nobles and Officers ...	60.3	4.9	...	...
King's Thanes ...	434.3	35.8	...	...
Other persons:			495.2	40.7
Thanes ...	33.0	2.7	...	...
Socmen ...	351.3	29.0	...	...
Burgesses ...	1.1	...	...	...
Of unknown status ...	134.2	11.0	...	...
Total ...			520.2	42.7
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v
			1210.1	99.2

TABLE XII: WATER MILLS

STREAM	VILL	MILLS				STREAM	VILL	MILLS			
		number	value	eei-rent				number	value	eei-rent	
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi
I. OUSEL RIVER.	Totternhoe 233	3	10.8	...	...	III. B1. Shillington					
	Totternhoe, 265	1	3.0	...	...	Brook, a.	Pegsdon 54	2	27.8	...	...
	Leighton, 2	2	30.0	...	W.		Shillington 58	1	0.0	...	(fractus), W.
	Gladley 293	1	16.0	...	Grange Mill, W.		Barton 53	1	2.0	...	W.
I. A. Salford Brook, a.	Hushorne Crawley 266	2	10.0	...	'Mill Farm'		Harlington				not in D.B.
	Holcote, 209	1	5.4	...	W.		Campton 83	1	3.3	...	W.
	Salford 139	1	9.4	...	W.	III. B2. Flit Brook, a.	Millbrook 187	2	6.0	...	...
	Aspley Guise 138	1	10.0	...	'Mill Farm'		Ampthill				not in D.B.
II. OUSE RIVER.	Turvey 29	1	20.0	...	W.		Flitwick				not in D.B. W.
	Carlton 199	1	13.4	...	'Mill Holme'		Maulden 294	1	3.0	...	W.
	Harrold 306	1	36.8	200	W.		Toddington				'Mill Farm'
	Odell 230	1	36.8	200	W.		Flitwick 267	1	4.0	...	W.
II. A. Sharn Brook.	Felmersham 304	1	10.0	...	'Pinchmill'		Silsoe 250				not in D.B. W.
	Sharnbrook 275	1	1.4	...	...		Palloxhill				W.
	Sharnbrook, 286	1	16.0	...	W.		Silsoe 250	1	2.2	...	...
II. Ouse River	Bletsoe 148, 301	1	20.0	...	Stoke Mill, W.		Cainhoe 193	1	6.0	...	W.
	Radwell 200	1	10.0	...	...		Chicksand 345	1	10.0	...	...
	Milton Ernest 333	1	20.0	...	W.	III. B. Shefford Brook.	Cudsand 82	0	...	...	'A mill can be made there'
	Pavenham 71	1	20.0	...	'Mill Lane.'		Stanford 111	2	29.0	50	one working
	Oakley 225	1	26.0	200	'Mill Bridge.'		Stanford 169, 220	1	10.0	...	one working
	Clapham 99	1	40.0	...	...		Stanford 340	1	13.4	...	one working
	Bromham 150	1	20.0	125	one working	III. Ivel River	Clifton 119	2	40.0	150	two working
	Bromham 302	1	40.0	100	...		Biggleswade 289	2	47.0	...	W.
	Biddenham 39	1	25.0	...	...		Northill 117	1	14.0	...	probably two
	Biddenham 212	1	10.0	...	...		Northill 223	1	13.0	...	moieties of one mill
	Kempston, 298	1	5.0	...	W.	III. C. Sutton Brook.	Potton 313	1	5.0	...	...
	Bedford				'Duck Mill'		Kenemondwick 49	1	13.4	...	'Watermill Bridge.'
	Goldington 128	1	30.0	100	'Priory Mill'	III. Ivel River	Sandy 108	2	50.0	...	W.
	Cardington 131	1	40.0	100	...		Beeston 115	1	30.0	...	...
II. B. Ravensden Brook?	Putnoe 124	1	30.0	100	Castle Mill, W.	III. D. Northill Brook.	Wardon 221	1	12.0	...	...
II. C. Elstow Brook.	Chainhale 126	1	40.0	100	...	III. Ivel River	Charlton 332	1	30.0	...	W.
	Elstow 297	1	24.0	...	...		Blunham 50	1	20.0	...	W.
II. Ouse River	Willington 132	1	12.0	100	W.		Tempsford 41	2	40.0	120	one working
	Great Barford 157	1	12.0	80	one working		Tempsford 106	1	10.0	...	...
	Great Barford 160	1	7.0	...	...		Tempsford 107	1	12.0	...	...
	[Confluence with Ivel River.]				...	IV. TILL BROOK.	Shelton 23	1	3.0	...	...
	Rexton 217	1	33.0	260	'Mill Lane'		Keysoe 122	1	2.0	...	...
	Chawston 215	1	13.4	...	...	V. RHEE RIVER.	Eyworth 218	1	8.0	...	...
	Little Barford, 56	1	12.0	125	...		? Hatley 339	1	18.0	...	...
	Eaton Socon 103	2	36.6	100	W.	VI. LEA RIVER.	Luton 4	6	100.0	...	one working
III. IVEL RIVER.	Stotfold 133	4	80.0	400	two working		Luton 5	1	10.0	...	'New Mill.' Not in D.B.
	Astwick 168	1	9.4	...	one working		Luton				...
	Astwick 244	1	13.0	...	...						...
III. A. Hiz River.	Holwell 61	2	20.0	...	...						...
	Arlesey 47	2	26.8	...	'Mill Lane'						...
	Arlesey 97	1	10.0	...	...						...
III. Ivel River	Henlow 207	1	5.0	...	...						...
	Henlow 248	1	34.0	...	...						...
	Langford 245	2	26.8	...	W.						...
Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	Column i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi

PART III. ANALYTICAL.

THE FISCAL AREAS.

THE SHIRE.

§ 37. D.B. and the Shire Moot. — On the shire as an administrative organisation, our D.B. unfortunately throws no light. There is but one reference to it, that 'all who have taken oath for the shire' (omnes qui iurauerunt de uicecomitatu) bear witness (Staughton 87),—but the reference is interesting. It rightly names Bedfordshire as a uicecomitatus or sheriffwick, not as a comitatus or county, for there was no Earl of this shire, and therefore properly speaking no 'County'. It also implies that the returns from the Hundred Moots were considered, perhaps amended, in full Shire Moot, a fact which we should not otherwise have known.^a In the D.B. of co. Hunts., the revision of these returns by the Shire Moot form an appendix (D.B., i, folia 208. 208a), but in Bedfordshire any such corrections as may have been made in Shire Moot seem to have been incorporated in the general text.

§ 38. The "County Hidage."—The remarkable document known by this name, referred by Dr. Liebermann to the xith century, has been assigned by Mr. Turner^b recently, and with great probability to the later years of King Alfred's reign. It has come down to us in four manuscripts, the figures of which are not always in agreement together; but while one manuscript credits Bedfordshire with only 1000 hides, the other three assign 1200 hides to this county. The total B of our Table III, column ii, which includes all the hidated land then intrinsec to the county, amounts to 1210 h. 1⁶/₁₀ v., an extraordinarily close approximation. Now if Mr. Turner's dating is correct, we are met by the fact that the assessment of the county as a whole had not been varied for two hundred years. The allotment of the assessment to the land may have been varied by alterations in the Hundreds or by readjustment of the hidation of the vills, but the total number of assessable units remained the same.

§ 39. The D.B. Vicecomitatus and the Modern County.—An attempt to calculate the effect of alterations in the County boundary since D.B. proved to be unexpectedly difficult. No special record of the lands lost and gained seems to have been kept officially until recently; and the Census returns of the acreage in the parishes concerned appear to have been loosely computed rather than accurately measured. Yet the readjustment and simplification of county and parish boundaries involve questions of great historical interest, which, when one seeks the reason for the present-day detachment of outlying parts of parishes, sometimes seem to reach back to pre-Conquest time. In such questions lies an interesting field for research, apparently hardly touched as yet, but their discussion would be out of place here; the most that can be offered at the moment is a provisional list of the more obvious gains and losses to the County area since 1086. From North East clockwise these are:

a. For the relations between Sheriff, Shire Moot, and Hundred Moot in this matter, compare D.B., i, 141 (Stuterehele).

b. Turner: Hunts Fines, pp. lxxiii—lxxvi. Compare Maitland: D.B., 455-460.

GAINS.			
In.	From.		Acreage.
Swineshead ^a	Hunts.	...	1354
Meppershall ^b	Herts.	...	circa 900
Westoninge	"	...	1627
Caddington	"	...	2095
Kensworth	"	...	2553
Studham	"	...	1449
Aspley Heath ^d	Bucks.	...	circa 490
Podinton ^e	Northants	...	say 60
Farnlish ^f	"	...	circa 177
			10705 acres.
LOSSES.			
In.	To.		Acreage.
Tillbrook ^a	Hunts.	...	1683
Holwell ^b	Herts.	...	circa 590
Shillington	"	...	37
Studham	"	...	150
Houghton Regis	"	...	159
Whipsnade	"	...	168
Edlesboro ^c	Bucks.	...	say 1890
Kushden	Northants.	}	.. say 420 ^k
Newton	"		
Stanwick	"		
			5997 acres.

Whole parish.

Measured on 1st O.S., ed. 1853.

Whole parish.

Measured on 6th O.S.

At D.B., 2 virgates.

f. Measured on Award Map.

g. Whole parish.

h. Whole parish.

i. Half of present total acreage.

k. At D.B., 3 hides 2 virgates.

a. Whole parish.

b. Measured on 1" O.S., ed. 1853.

c. Whole parish.

d. Measured on 6" O.S.

e. At D.B. 2 virgates.

f. Measured on Award Map.

g. Whole parish.

h. Whole parish.

i. Half of present total acreage.

k. At D.B., 3 hides 2 virgates.

The net gain is therefore about 5608 acres since the date of D.B.—The official total acreage to-day is 302942 acres, and the D.B. acreage was therefore approximately 297334 acres, on which the net gain is only 1.8 per cent.

THE HUNDRED.

§ 40. The Antiquity and Meaning of the Hundred. — The Hundred is one of the oldest, perhaps the oldest, of all English political institutions; the shire is comparatively modern. Its duties were detailed by an ordinance of King Edgar (959-975), and its reorganisation is attributed to King Alfred (853-901), but its germ can be traced back through the ordinances of Frankish kings to the Teutonic tribes described by Tacitus about A.D. 99. With its history and development, its judicial police and military duties, we need not deal here. So far as D.B. is concerned, we find it (i) as an area, collectively responsible for an assessment to Danegeld, divided into a (theoretical) hundred hides (§ 45) between which the assessment was shared proportionately; and (ii) as having a moot or court, where the men of that area met together and bore witness on oath to such matters as the value, extent and ownership of land, and the numbers of men and beasts upon it; the record is full of their testimony in Hundred moot, for example, on fo. 211b of D.B. we find three instances (77, 84, 85).

§ 41. The Bedfordshire Hundreds. — At the date of D.B. the County contained

(a) nine Hundreds with much the same names as at present, assessed on their hidage for Danegeld,

Barford	Flitt	Stodden
Biggleswade	Manshead	Wiley
Clifton	Redbornestoke	Wixamtree

(b) three Half Hundreds assessed on hidage, Buchelai, later fused with Wiley, here called Buckley; Stanburge, later fused with Manshead, the modern Stanbridge; Weneslai, later fused with Biggleswade, here called Wensley;

(c) certain Royal lands, assessed on hidage, but (with the exception of Biscot) not included in any Hundred (terra extracentenalis):

- (d) Bedford town, not assessed on hidage (except one hide) but answering as a Half Hundred for naval and military levies (§ 72):
- (e) the terra forinseca (schedule to Table I), assessed on hidage, but not credited to Bedfordshire.

The county was further credited with the scrap of terra extrinseca which paid its geld in Bedfordshire, but lay in Huntingdonshire (see also p. 7, note a).

There is mention also (Scwell 8) of a lost Hundred of Odecroft (§ 46) the disappearance of which may date from the shrievalty of the masterful Ralf Taillebois; it has been suggested that its name is perhaps perpetuated in Woodcroft Manor in Luton^a. It would seem that Hundreds were to some extent unstable; Huntingdonshire similarly has a lost Hundred of Cresswelle (Gidding 137; D.B. i, fo. 207), and new Hundreds were formed even after the Conquest^b.

§ 42. Names of the Hundreds. — The following are the chief variants in the spelling of the Hundreds:—

Barford—Breforde.
 Biggleswade—Bichelesuorde, Bicheleswade.
 Buckley—Bochelai, Buchelai.
 Clifton—Cliftone, Clistone.
 Flitt—Flichtham.
 Manshead—Manesheue.
 Redbornstoke — Radeburnesoca, Radebernestoch',
 Radborgestoc', Ratborgestou, Ratborgestoeche,
 Ratbernestoeche.
 Stanbridge—Stanburge.
 Stodden—Stodene, Stodden.
 Wensley—Weneslai.
 Willey—Wilga, Wilge.
 Wixamtree—Wichestanestou, Wichestaucstou, Wich-
 enestanestou.

Many of these names are taken, as is common in other counties, from places of importance within their limits (Barford, Biggleswade, Clifton, Fliton), or from a well known mark (Stanbridge^c)—presumably the meeting-places of the Hundred. The remainder require a study which they have not yet received.

§ 43. The omission of the Hundred heading. — As a rule, the name of the Hundred in which it lies precedes the entry of each holding or series of holdings. Occasionally, however, the scribe of D.B. has failed to record this, so that parts of some vill appear to be in another Hundred from that in which they lie to-day, or from that in which the rest of the vill then lay. While it was perfectly possible for a holding to 'lie to' or be assessed in some other Hundred than the rest of the vill of which it formed part, still there is no reason to suppose that this was intended in the instances given below, if we may judge from the sums of the hides in the vill and Hundreds concerned: the omissions of the Hundred heading appear to have been due to error or accident rather than to design.^d In the list below, the first column gives the name of the holding, and its number in the serial order of D.B.; the

second, the Hundred in which it now lies, or that in which the rest of the vill then lay; the third, the Hundred (if recorded) to which it appears to belong in the text of D.B.

i.	ii.	iii.
Biddenham, 212.	Buckley.	Flitt.
Bolnhurst, 62.	Stodden.	Without heading.
Broom, 189 (in margin)	Wixamtree.	Redburnstoke.
Campton, 83.	Clifton.	Biggleswade.
Chawston, 105.	Barford.	Without heading.
Cudsand, 82.	Clifton.	Biggleswade.
Eaton Socon, 103.	Barford.	Without heading.
Goldington, 128.	Barford.	Buckley.
Gravenhurst, 142.	Flitt.	Manshead.
Higham Gobion, 144.	Flitt.	Manshead.
Hinwick, 278.	Willey.	Buckley.
Milton Ernest, 197.	Stodden.	Flitt.
Oakley, 225.	Stodden.	Stanbridge.
Potton, 309.	Wensley.	Barford.
Streatley, 143.	Flitt.	Manshead.
Sutton, 303.	Wensley.	Biggleswade.
Wyboston, 104.	Barford.	Without heading.

These seventeen entries have been assigned in the tables to the Hundred shown alongside of them in the second column.

Special difficulty is presented by entries 124-128, owing to the scattered nature of Buckley Half Hundred, to the dubious meaning of 'iacet in' (§ 12), and to the neglect of the usual order of the Hundreds shown by the D.B. compiler when dealing with the fief of Hugh de Beauchamp (§ 44). Baring^e assigns the entries as follows:—

Buckley Half Hundred (heading in D.B.).	
Putnoe 124	4h. ov.
plus Chainhale 127	oh. 2v.
plus Goldington 128 (pars)	oh. 1v.
Stagsden 125	5h. ov.
Barford Hundred (heading inserted by Baring).	
Chainhale 126	5h. ov.
Goldington 128 (pars)	3h. ov.

On the five-hide theory (§ 53), this gives a neat result. Goldington receives 10h. in all, Stagsden 10h., Chainhale 5h., and Putnoe 4h. 3v. But unfortunately this is not what D.B. says.

If the virgates which Mr. Baring assigns to Putnoe lay physically in Putnoe, they should according to the usual practice have been returned under Putnoe; but the point of the entries as they stand in D.B. seems to be that these lands lay physically in the territories of Chainhale and Goldington, but were appurtenant to (lay to) the manor of Putnoe, exactly as in the instances of the phrase 'iacet in' quoted in § 12, c. As to the question of the omission of the Hundredal heading of Barford—with the addition of the 3h. 1v. of Goldington 128, and the omission of the 5h. 2v. of Chainhale, Barford Hundred reaches a total of 100h. 1v.; but by the inclusion of Chainhale, Buckley becomes 57h. 13v.; they cannot both be brought to the neat theoretical numbers of 100 and 50. The point is not supremely important, and is probably incapable of a certain decision. In the tables and maps the heading of Buckley has been taken to cover Chainhale, but the 3h. 1v. have been placed with the rest of Goldington in Barford Hundred. Chainhale (if representing Ravensden: § 50), Goldington, and Putnoe all touch one another, and the oddments lay probably on the line of contact; Baring's neat numbers may be regarded as a relic of a former arrangement under earlier holders. The point lies in the fact that its acquirement by a manor in another Hundred could in a sense remove land out of its proper Hundred into the other, because its sake would then lie to the Court of the new Hundred or its lord's court in that Hundred.

§ 44. Order of the Hundreds. — The Hundreds are generally recorded in the same order on each fief; this appears to be

1. Manshead.	5. Buckley.	9. Biggleswade.
2. Stanbridge.	6. Flitt.	10. Wensley.
3. Redbornstoke.	7. Willey.	11. Wixamtree.
4. Stodden.	8. Barford.	12. Clifton.

but on the fief of Hugh de Beauchamp this succession is imperfectly observed. It has been suggested that it represents the order in which the Hundreds were surveyed, but it need not mean any more than the order in which the D.B. scribe happened to pick up the rolls, or that in which the returns happened to be delivered to the Royal officials. At any rate a glance at Map I. will show that the succession is far from indicating an orderly geographical circuit of the county.

d. This is no mere speculation. In some counties the Hundreds are rarely mentioned, for example, in Oxfordshire. In other cases they are omitted occasionally, accidentally, or deliberately (to save parchment).

e. Baring: Domesday Tables, 178.

f. V.C.H., i, 217-218.

a. V.C.H. iii, 391, note 66; compare V.C.H., ii, 354.

b. Eyton: Domesday of Somerset, i, 19.

c. The land of the vill which took its name from the Stone Bridge does not appear to have lain in the Hundred of Stanbridge, but in Leighton.

§ 45. **The Hundred Hides.**—It has been already said that the Hundred at the time of D.B. was assessed for taxation at a round number of 100 hides; similarly a Half Hundred should show 50 hides. The aim of this arrangement appears to have been simplicity of calculation for the Treasury: "at the normal Dane-geld rate of two shillings on the hide, an assessment of fifty hides would represent £5, one hundred hides £10, and so on^a." The second column of Table II shows that in many cases the approximation to the theoretical number in this county was very close; Barford Biggles-wade Clifton Flitt Stodden and Wensley have reckoned up their lands and apportioned their assessment with great arithmetical success, but the remaining six Hundreds show from 4 to 25 per cent. more hides than the normal. It will be noticed that the serious differences from the theoretical 100 hides are all in the direction of excess, and may perhaps be attributed partly to actual increase in the arable area, due to assarting, that is, to clearing and cultivation of former waste. The chief variations are entirely on the west side of the county, namely (from north to south) in Buckley Redbornstoke Manshead and Stanbridge. One can hardly expect to account for these to-day, but there is evidence (§ 76) in the text of D.B. to show that Ralf Taillebose when sheriff made alterations arbitrarily in Hundreds as in other things.

§ 46. **Odecroft Hundred.**—The most marked excess of hides is shown by the Hundreds of Manshead and Stanbridge, respectively 23.5 and 25.0 per cent. too large; and one is tempted to speculate whether it is possible from this to trace the lost Hundred of Odecroft. (i) Of it we only know that Sewell 8 was taken from it and added to Houghton Regis by Ralf Taillebose. (ii) It is clear from Map I that Hockliffe has been added at some date to Manshead; the obvious boundary of that Hundred—the Watling Street—cuts Hockliffe from Manshead as it cuts Sewell from Houghton Regis. (iii) Ralf Taillebose added 17 hides to Leighton, to which they did not formerly lie (Leighton 2); it is not difficult to see in these hides Billington and Eggington, with parts of the hamlet of Stanbridge and perhaps of Heath and Reach (Gladley), all of which are or were till recently hamlets of Leighton. If we now add these to the D.B. Half Hundred of Stanbridge (Sewell 5h. ov. + Hockliffe 10h. ov. + additions to Leighton 17h. ov. + Stanbridge Half Hundred 62h. 2v. = 94h. 2v.), we seem to be getting as near as can be expected to the figure required for a lost Hundred; the remaining 5h. could be supplied by Barworth, which seems always to have been imperfectly detached from Bedfordshire. This suggestion is pure speculation, but may indicate a line of future research.

§ 47. **The Hundreds and the "County Hidage."**—The 1200 hides which are assigned to Bedfordshire by this document, according to theory should have been distributed (? were once distributed) among 12 Hundreds. We can only muster in D.B. 9 Hundreds and (including Bedford) 4 Half Hundreds—11 Hundreds in all. The ancient demesne of the Crown, although extracentenar in D.B. (except for Biscot), was hidated like the rest, and we can only sup-

pose that its 90 hides were originally ranked fiscally as a Hundred. But if we go back only to the shrievalty of Ralf Taillebose, we see that these 90 hides must be reduced by 25, for he added 17h. to Leighton (Leighton 2), 3h. to Houghton Regis (Sewell 8), and 5h. to Luton (Biscot 9). This bears out what was said above as to the instability of the Hundreds; the institution was extraordinarily permanent, but its application could be varied; and it may be doubted whether at this date it is possible to deduce their ancient arrangement; for example, to explain the detached portion of Stodden, or the shattered character of Buckley Half Hundred.

THE BURGH.

§ 48. **Fiscal Status of Bedford.**—From the fiscal standpoint, the burgh of Bedford was practically negligible. It answered as a Half Hundred for recruiting, but the land inside its boundaries had not been assessed in hides, save for one hide of Church land.^b If the land was not hidated, the land presumably did not pay geld.^c An explanation of the apparent exemption from geld has been hazarded below (§ 72).

THE VILL.

§ 49. **D.B. vills and Bedfordshire villages.**—A number of place-names are found in D.B. which are not familiar, even to those who know the countryside fairly well. Many of these however are still to be found on the Ordnance Survey, little altered after 835 years, as names of outlying farms and hamlets; such as Pegsdon, Millo, Putnoe, and Polechanger. Others can be traced by means of later records (medieval and post-medieval), such as Sudbury in Eaton Socon, Westcotts in Wilshamstead, and Gladley in Heath and Reach. Since the names of modern parishes as well as the D.B. vills are shown on the maps at the end of this volume, there is no need to discuss here those identifications which are generally admitted by students of Domesday.

§ 50. **D.B. vills of uncertain locality.**—A few places however still remain, the geographical position of which is not yet universally accepted. With most of these the present writer has attempted to deal elsewhere.

Estone (B.H.R.S., i, 70-73). Nothing has been found to militate against the suggestion, made in 1913, that this represented Little Staughton. But it seems now possible that the extrinsec Estone may have been in Staughton, and not in Easton, co. Hunts.

Elvendone and Segresdone (B.H.R.S., vi, 198-9. 201). These probably lay in or near the present Pertenhall; under the latter name only one virgate is recorded by D.B., and that lay to Huntingdonshire.

Hanefeld, as we may fairly infer from its tenure by William de Warenne, probably lay also in this neighbourhood. The name has not been noticed since D.B., but, as Mr. Airy very reasonably suggested, its first syllables are perhaps preserved by Honey Hill in Pertenhall.

Chainhalle. I have already ventured^d to identify this with Ravensden. No new evidence has ap-

a. Round: F.E., 55.

b. The words can be read as implying that this had only been hidated T.R.W., after its annexation by the Bishop of Lincoln. But this is not certain, though probable.

c. "Nescitur quot hidae sunt ibi quia non reddidit geldum T.R.E."; "Haec terra nunquam per hidas diuisa fuit neque geldauit." Dorset D.B., quoted by Eyton: *Key to Domesday*, Dorset, p. 6.

d. B.H.R.S., i, 63, 64; ii, 265, 266.

peared since then; and it seems probable that the mill did not lie within the boundaries of the modern parish (§ 184). This does not however impugn the feudal evidence, for mills were sometimes separated from their manors (Bromham 302), and even to-day the mills of Bletsoe and Pulloxhill are still detached from their proper parishes.

The identification of Chainhale with Chancel's End in Colnworth places it in a wrong Hundred, and is further unlikely because the Ch would probably have a hard sound as in Chauchou (Cainho), Chemenon-dewiche (Kinwick), Chaisot (Keysoe), etc.^c. The —hale or —halc (Ang. Sax. health), said by Prof. Skeat to have been long obsolete as an independent word, was still in use as field-name in Ravensden at the Award of 1866, in which Mowing Hale, Ploughed Hale, Sward Hale, etc., are recorded. Gain's Meadow occurs in this Award, but unfortunately not Gain Hale which would give a reasonable modification of Chainhale. —According to Mr. Airy, but without reason assigned, Chainhale is Renhold, Salchou is Ravensden; this is possible but unlikely, for Salchobury (Salph End) which admittedly represents Salchou is assuredly in Renhold parish to-day. We may reasonably hope that the further study of records will some day place the matter on a more certain footing.

Chenemondewicke (B.H.R.S., v. 60-73) has been shown to have lain on the confines of Sandy Sutton and Potton.

Cudsand. There can be little doubt that this is represented approximately by Shefford and Shefford Hardwicke; but the matter seems to be at present incapable of absolute proof owing to the very early union of Shefford with Campton, and to the fact that the name Cudsand does not reappear after D.B.

We start in D.B. with two holders of land in Cudsand; Walter Giffard held 3h. 2v. in Cudsand 82, and Hugh de Beauchamp held 2h. in Cudsand 178; of these two men, Walter Giffard also held in Campton, but Hugh did not. A charter of Payne de Beauchamp, probably granted between 1147 and 1153, shows him confirming as overlord a small grant made from 'his fee in Campton' to the Priory of Chicksand; and a charter of William de Beauchamp, probably granted between 1206 and 1219, contains a similar confirmation to Chicksand of grants 'from his fee in Campton,' which by now amounted to 8 virgates. Not only had the Beauchamps no fee in Campton at D.B., but the amount of land shown in these charters as granted from their fee 'there,' is just equivalent to their D.B. holding in Cudsand. The D.B. overlordship of Giffard passed to the Honour of the Earl Marshal of Pembroke, and towards 1242 we find^h a fitz Gerald as tenant of Campton under that Honour; and when Shefford first appears by name among feudal aids in 1316, we read that "Campton cum Shefford is one vill," and is held by Robert de l'Isle (descendant of fitz Gerald), and by the Prior of Chicksand. We may summarise the probable history of the land thus:—

Shefford.

3h. 2v. of the fee of Giffard in Cudsand in 1086;
added as Shefford to the fee of fitz Gerald in Campton before 1316
probably before 1219).

Shefford Hardwicke.

2h. of the fee of Beauchamp in Cudsand in 1086.
8v. of the fee of Beauchamp in 'Campton' granted by subtenants to
Chicksand Priory before 1219.
united with Campton before 1316.

Of incidental evidence, it is noteworthy that Shefford Hardwicke, like Chicksand but unlike Shefford, was extra-parochial until recent times, a survival of its ownership by the Priory. Further, D.B. records that "there could be a mill" on Walter Giffard's moiety; for this there was water more than sufficient at Shefford, but not at Shefford Hardwicke; having a mill at Campton, he probably found the one adequate to his needs.

§ 51. Existing villages not named in D.B.—
—In addition to purely modern civil parishes, and to places where a newer (but still old) name has replaced the D.B. (but still extant) name—for example Charlton and Mogerhanger, Salpho and Renhold, Segenho and Ridgmont,—there are yet some conspicuous omissions from our record. Of these, Pertenhall, Ravensden, Shefford and Staughton have been noted in the preceding paragraph; but there remain a few for mention here.

- b. V.C.H., i, 237b.
- c. Exceptions are furnished by Chicksand and Chawston.
- d. Beds. C.C. Muniments, Award Book L, 137-139.
- e. Gain Hale or Gaynes Hall, co. Hunts, is for many reasons inadmissible.
- f. B.H.R.S., i, 103.
- g. B.H.R.S., i, 105.
- h. Testa de Nevill (R.C.), 247.
- i. Feudal Aids (R.S.), i, 20. Shefford is indexed as if in co. Berks.

Chellington is assigned by Mr. Roundⁱ to an unnamed holding in Willey Hundred, numbered 28 in the Tables (§ 52).

Dunstable was not founded till the reign of Henry I.

Souldrop is suggested^k to have been included among the 4½ hides of the Bishop of Coutances in Sharnbrook, but it is also possible that it was merged in Knotting.

Westoning in 1086 was returned under Hertfordshire, having been attached to the royal manor of Hitchin (see Schedule to Table I, § 20).

Whipsnade has been regarded^l as having been included by D.B. in the extensive manor of Eaton Bray, but its later history rather suggests that it was returned under Studham. The earliest record of the name at present noted is in 1202^m. Part of it lay physically in Herts. until the last century.

Wrestlingworth is not mentioned by name in the Survey. Mr. Airy identified itⁿ with Werateworde in the Cambridgeshire return, but this entry has been shown^o to refer to Wratworth in Orwell, co. Cambs. It appears however, on investigation, to have been duly recorded under the name of Hatley.

Here Azelina Taillebose held 3h. 1½v. (Hatley 130), and Countess Judith had 3h. 2½v. (Hatley 322). In the Testa de Nevill (circa 1242), the Bedfordshire Hatley is apparently not mentioned, nor is there any trace of Azelina's manor shown under the Barony of Bedford; this is annoying, but by no means unparalleled, for many manors do not figure in the Testa; Wrestlingworth, however, appears^p correctly as of the Honour of Huntingdon (into which Countess Judith's honour had fallen), and as held from it by William de Huntercumbe. In the Feudal Aids of 1284-1286 we find once more both of the D.B. estates in Hatley. Hatley itself was held by William de Port from Roger l'Estrange, a coheir of the Beauchamp Barony into which Azelina's lands had fallen; and this Beauchamp fee is still traceable in the Feudal Aids of 1346 and 1428. Wrestlingworth was in 1284-1286 held by Walter de Huntercumbe in chief of the King, the Earl of Huntingdon having long escheated to the Crown. The descent of the lands may be summarised thus:—

	Overlord.	Undertenant.
Hatley Port, alias Hatley Cockayne.		
D.B., 1086.	Azelina Taillebose.	None.
c. 1242.	(Barony of Beauchamp.)	[Adam de Port].
Feud. Aid, 1284-6.	Barony of Beauchamp (l'Estrange)	William de Port.
Hatley (later Wrestlingworth).		
D.B., 1086.	Countess Judith.	None.
Testa, c. 1242.	Honour of Huntingdon.	William de Huntercumbe.
Feud. Aid, 1284-6.	The King (escheat).	Walter de Huntercumbe.

It is fairly obvious that, whether Wrestlingworth was regarded in 1086 as part of Hatley, or the scribe copied a wrong name, the two manors figure under one name in D.B. Of the two alternatives the writer inclines to the former, that 'Hatley' covered both Hatley Port (afterwards called H. Cockayne) and Wrestlingworth, just as it undoubtedly also covered 9h. 1v. which now form Hatley St. George and East Hatley just across the Cambridgeshire border, and were also returned simply as Hatelai without any qualification.

§ 52. Unnamed holdings. — It is possible to locate some at least of these.

308. In Barford Hundred.—Mr. Round gives good reason for thinking that this holding was probably in Sudbury (V.C.H., i, 258, note 3).

- j. V.C.H., i, 225, n. 5.
- k. V.C.H., iii, 5.
- l. V.C.H., iii, 455.
- m. B.H.R.S., i, 187.
- n. Digest of Bedfordshire Domesday, 98.
- o. V.C.H., i, 216.
- p. Testa de Nevill (R.C.), 243.
- q. Feudal Aids (R.S.), i, 3. Adam de Port was already here in 1198; B.H.R.S., vi, 13, no. 30.

203. In Biggleswade Hundred.—As the other four holdings of Fulcher of Paris were all in Stratton and Holme, and as in the Testa de Nevill the only holdings of d'Albini of Cainhoe in this Hundred were at Stratton and Holme, this unnamed holding may reasonably be placed somewhere in the present parish of Biggleswade.

180. In Manshead Hundred.—In a Saxon charter of A.D. 969 (B.H.R.S., v, 45-47), Aspley Guise is granted as 15 hides, apparently including Holcote. In D.B. Aspley is returned at 10 hides, Holcote at 4 hides held by Ralf Passelewe from William Spech, so that one hide of Holcote seems to be missing. In the Testa de Nevill of about 1242 the Trailly heirs of the Spech barony are duly found at Holcote and still with a Passelewe undertenant; but, in addition, the d'Albini barony of Cainhoe is also found to hold in Holcote+Husborne Crawley+Tingrith, and these are its only lands in this Hundred. Now Crawley (179) and Tingrith (181) both appear in D.B. as d'Albini land, and this unnamed entry comes between them; the obvious inference is that the missing hide of Holcote is this unnamed hide entered to Nigel d'Albini as in this Hundred.

376. In Stodden Hundred.—There is no feudal evidence by which to identify this. In this Hundred the five-hide principle of assessment (§ 53) is universal among the Bedfordshire villis, except in the broken ground at and near Staughton (9h. 1½v.) and at Bolnhurst (4h. 2v.); by the addition of these two virgates to Bolnhurst, the vill and the scheme of assessment would be completed. But this is guess-work, not evidence.

28. In Willey Hundred.—D.B. is silent as to both Chellington and Souldrop in this Hundred. Its later history seems to indicate that Souldrop may have been included among the lands of the Bishop of Coutances in Sharnbrook or Knotting; and Mr. Round (V.C.H., i, 225, note 4) gives reasons for thinking that this unnamed holding represents Chellington.

380. In Willey Hundred.—There is no evidence by which to identify this small holding.

§ 53. **The Five-Hide Unit.**—In no county as yet studied is this more clearly marked than in Bedfordshire. To Mr. Round's advocacy is due the general acceptance of the view that, the assessment to Danegeld having been laid on the Hundred, that institution divided the total sum more or less fairly among its villis, according to the extent and value of their land. The rating unit (we speak of Bedfordshire) was the hide of land; and by a system which may have been based either on arithmetical convenience or on tradition from a remote past^a, the hundred hides of a Hundred were assessed on the villis by fives or multiples of five. The second column of Table II. shows how closely this system was followed; for example, Barford Hundred shows 3 fives, 3 tens, 2 twenties of hides. Naturally, a very small area could not be rated at so much as 5 hides without upsetting the fair proportion throughout the Hundred; but many of the apparent exceptions are so arranged as together to complete the number 5 or its multiple. Thus, for example, in Biggleswade Hundred the adjacent villis Stratton and Holme together just fall short of 15 hides.

a. One well-maintained theory regards the Hundred as having been originally the area of settlement of a hundred men and their families; and the hide (hiwscipe) is translated by Bede as the place of one family; the charter of Aspley already quoted uses "fifteen husbandmen," and "fifteen hides," as synonymous. For a discussion of the Hundred, Stubbs: Constitutional History, vol. i, ch. v, should be read.

The system was as useful to local arithmetic as the Hundred system was to the central Treasury (§ 45); at the 'normal' rate of 2s. on the hide, the geld on 5h.= 10s., 10h.= 1 li., and so on; even fractions were fairly easy, for 1v. should yield 6d.

THE AREAL MEASURES.

THE HIDE.

§ 54. **The Fiscal Hide and the Areal Hide.**—The terms employed for land measurement in D.B. have been, and probably will yet be, the subject of much discussion; but, thanks to the work of Scebohm Maitland Round and others, they have become more intelligible. When the Normans arrived in England, the chief units of land measurement then in use were (a) the old Saxon hide, the land of one family, divisible into 4 virgates, and (b) the carucate^b or plough-gang, divisible into 8 bovates or ox-gangs, found in those parts of England where the invading Danes had settled in such large numbers as to dictate their own land-measures. Bedfordshire belongs to the hidated districts; but it is not far from the carucated or Danish districts (see map, § 140), and the word carucate is not unknown in its D.B. (§ 58). But even before the Conquest, the conception of hides and carucates 'for assessment' (ad geldum) had grown up; there came to be fiscal hides and virgates, fiscal carucates and bovates, alongside of the old areal measures and their subdivisions. In order therefore to avoid confusion at the Great Survey, the hides or carucates for which each holding answers seem to be treated purely as fiscal conventions, and to be arbitrary estimates of land for purposes of revenue. We thus arrive at the Hidage of column ii in Tables I-III, as the mere assessment on which the holding has to pay Danegeld. There is nothing remarkable about this system; a house to-day is assessed at a certain number of 'pounds,' which have varied neither with the depreciation which followed the passing of Land Valuation (Finance Act, 1910), nor with the appreciation due to the shortage of houses after the war; these 'pounds' bear a but shadowy relation to the real value of a pound sterling at any moment.

§ 55. **The original principle of assessment.**—Granted that the hides virgates and acres of our D.B. were not supposed to represent actual areas, we may fairly ask what evidence our country affords of an earlier system, in which "the hide for Danegeld" was an actual measure of land (as measures vaguely went). It must be obvious to any reader of D.B. that, in the description of the holdings, there is frequently an equality between the number of hides and the number of teamlands. On a rough count, there seem to be 112 cases out of 369 holdings in which the equation 1 hide=1 teamland is exactly true; it is thus true on 30 per cent. of the holdings, and on very many more it is true within a fraction; the remaining cases are above or below this norm. We seem to have here the persistence from a remote date of the original principle of hidation—that each teamland was assessed at one hide—even though the principle has been modified in many cases with the progress of time. Henry of Huntingdon^c writing about 1130, explains,

b. Those who are unaccustomed to D.B. terms must keep in mind the difference between land for one caruca or plough, here translated teamland; the carucate or plough-gang, a Danish measure of assessment; and the carucate in Bede., meaning a non-gelding hide (§ 58).

c. R.S. 74, p. 176. "Hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturae sufficiens per annum."

when recording a geld on hides levied in 1008, that "a hide is the English name for land sufficient for the cultivation of one plough in the year," is, in fact, what we are calling a teamland.

§ 56. *The excess of teamlands.*—In the majority of the 369 holdings the number of teamlands exceeds the number of the hides. For this ratio, the term "beneficial hidation" was coined by Eyton, meaning an assessment, to the benefit of the tenant, on a basis proportionately lower than that on the average holding. It may be the result of an extension of the arable due to the agricultural efficiency of the tenant since a former assessment, or may be assigned to a deliberate favouritism such as seems to be clearly marked in the case of the royal manors; probably both these factors are involved. Be this as it may, we find that when the ratio of hides to teamlands is calculated for each Hundred, the average gives 1.25 teamlands to every hide. A similar calculation for the whole county, from the D.B. totals in Table III., shows 1.35 teamlands to every hide. This seems to mean that, since the assessment recorded in D.B. was first settled, the assessable value of the county has been increased by a quarter or more; or, in other words, the rate of assessment has fallen by that amount, an ample reason for the appointment of the D.B. Commissioners.

§ 57. *Date of the assessment.*—On the one hand, the frequency of the five-hide system shows that this undoubtedly formed the basis of assessment; on the other, the variations from it seem to indicate that the assessment which was valid in 1086 had been fixed at some time before that date; and that since then subdivision, change of ownership, and extension of the arable area, had varied the original proportions. Unlike some counties,^a Bedfordshire does not show in its D.B. that any revision of assessment had been recently made. The contraction *defd'* is used throughout our record for the liability of a vill (compare the entry given in § 8), and it is not possible to decide whether this stands for *defendit* or *defendebat*, for a present or for a past tense. In Leighton 2, it is qualified by the addition of *modo*, and certainly represents a present tense. In Sewell 8, Biscot 9, and Totternhoe 233, it is qualified by the addition of the letters T.R.E., and equally certainly stands for *defendebat*. Though Mr. Ragg employs the present tense throughout his V.C.H. translation of our D.B. (except in the three entries just mentioned), I incline to the belief that the scribe was thinking *defendebat* when he wrote *defd'*, and was recording the assessment T.R.E. or of a yet earlier date. The view has been held^b that one object in the compilation of D.B. was a general reassessment of the realm, but there is no proof that this was achieved until a very much later date. If we try to get some idea of the date when the assessment valid in 1086 was settled, we are on most uncertain ground, since only two of the Saxon land-books which have been preserved to us give the area and boundaries of the land concerned. In one case, the grant of Chalgrave and Tebworth in the year 926 describes the land as of 5 hides, and Mr. Gurney has shown that the boundaries then given tally almost exactly with the parish of 1919^c; but since D.B. assigns 8h. iv. to Chalgrave, this looks

like an assessment increased since 926. In the second case, Aspley (Guise) was granted in 969 as 15 hides, while D.B. only charges it with 10 hides, and this at first looks like a lowered assessment; but there is reason to believe from the description of the boundaries that Holcote was then included in the 15 hides; and Aspley at 10h. + Holcote at 4 h. + the unnamed holding no. 180 (§ 52) at 1h. = 15 hides; if this be so, the assessment had been unaltered since 969, although the ownership had been divided at the Conquest. It is not to be inferred from these cases that the boundaries of all the villis remain to-day as they were in 1086 (§ 39, 69).

THE CARUCATE.

§ 58. *Meaning and Extent of the Carucate.*—In those parts of England where the Danes settled in large numbers, the carucate is employed in D.B. as the unit of land assessment instead of the hide, and similarly seems to have represented something like 120 acres. In Bedfordshire carucates are rarely mentioned, and then only as demesne land additional to the hides already returned for assessment:—"The Abbot of Thorney holds two hides and one virgate of land. . . . In demesne is one carucate of land besides (extra or preter) the two hides and one virgate." It is generally held that such carucates in a hidated country imply non-gelding land, land which had been exempted from payment towards Danegeld, presumably in pre-Conquest time.

At the Conquest two terms of land measurement for assessment were in use over the greater part of England:—the Saxon *hinscepe* or *land* (Latinised as *hida*), and something which the Danes may have called a plough-gang or a plough of land and the Normans Latinised as *carucata*; the returns of the hidated and carucated counties were respectively drawn up in terms of the local reckoning. But in the hidated counties the Norman clerks were confronted with these non-gelding plough-lands, for which there was no general term, and seem to have rendered them also as *carucata*,^d—to our great confusion. If that be so, the occurrence of the term with this sense does not necessarily imply Danish settlement.^e There are only five entries in which it occurs:

		Hidage.	Carucates.	Teamlands.	Teams			
		h.v.						
Bolnhurst 62	...	2.1	...	1	...	5	...	6
Clapham 99	...	5.0	...	10	...	30	...	30
Toddington 101	...	15.0	...	10	...	30	...	30
Staughton 256	...	2.0	...	2	...	5	...	5
Chalgrave, 283	...	8.1	...	3	...	10	...	10

It is fairly evident that these carucates are additional to the hides, but not necessarily to the teamlands, and therefore not to the acreage, for the teams accounted for are equal to the teamlands in all cases but one; in that one case carucate + teamlands = teams.

THE TEAMLAND.

§ 59. *The team of eight oxen.*—At the base of our D.B. 'measures' lie the ox and the pig. The latter useful animal will be discussed in § 65-67; at the moment the ox claims notice. In Bedfordshire at least there can be no doubt that when the jurors said "There is land for one plough," they had in mind the area which a plough of eight oxen could keep in cultivation; when they said that there was land for two oxen, they thought of a quarter of that area; and so downwards till we reach the classic fraction—"Terra est dimidio boui et ibi est semibos"—meaning, as Maitland pleasantly puts it, not a monstrous birth, but the sixteenth part of a teamland for which the tenant and another found an ox between them. The whole treatment of the land and its fractions becomes intelligible only if the plough-team consisted of eight oxen; the jurors expressed the land in terms of

a. Cambridgeshire in Round: Feudal England, 51-54.

b. Maitland: D.B., 4.

c. B.H.R.S., v, 163-170.

e. "Preter hanc sunt ibi ij carucate terre que nunquam diuise sunt per

hidas." "Carucatas que nunquam dederunt gildam." Eyton: *Introd.* to D.B., Dorset, pp. 19, 20.

f. Though it is interesting and suggestive that Chalgrave had been purchased from a Dane (B.H.R.S. v, 42-44), and yields one of the few occurrences of carucates in the county.

the plough and its team, where we express ourselves in terms of surface measure, acres and so forth; its importance was natural enough, for if you cannot plough you starve. In order to avoid confusion with the Danish carucate (plough-gang), the caruca of hidated counties is generally translated as a teamland.

We are not bound to believe that the full team of eight were always yoked in the plough together. When the jurors say "One plough is there, and there can be a half [plough]," the statement would be meaningless if four oxen could not under some circumstances draw the plough. A woodman's 'team' to-day is, we understand, of four or five horses, but he will not harness the whole team to haul half-grown timber.

§ 60. *Area of the Teamland.*—Unlike the hide, the teamland seems to have meant in the minds of the D.B. jurors a definite parcel of land. When they said "There is land for twelve ploughs. On demesne are two ploughs and there can be a third, and sixteen villans have eight ploughs and there can be a ninth," they were plain men and presumably meant what they said,—that there was enough suitable cleared land to employ two ploughs more than were on the land; they knew how much land in their own vill a plough could keep in cultivation, and could have laid out what they meant by a teamland with practical accuracy. But in the vill from the entry of which the quotation above has been taken, the land is chiefly sand and loam; and it does not follow that, when the jurors of some near-by vill on heavy soil made a similar return, they would have laid out so large a teamland as the other men.

No phrase in the Bedfordshire D.B. throws any light on the number of acres included in a teamland; therefore any general discussion of the point would be out of place here. Eyton, a pioneer in all D.B. research, regarded 120 acres as the definite fixed amount intended by the jurors. Maitland^a reluctantly comes to the conclusion that the land for one team "does not in the first instance denote a fixed areal quantity of arable land"; but his difficulty appears (as so often) to be due to an attempt to bring all counties under one and the same principle. Though it does seem to be admitted, even by Maitland, that in this part of England the teamland is best represented by 120 acres, we must not lean too heavily on this exact figure; it probably varied with the nature of the soil; and the teamland was not measured but guessed for the purposes of the return,—guessed by a primitive rustic folk who had no idea of 'square measure,' and whose only surveying instruments were their own feet and a 'pole' of very undecided length. Still, we may accept with safety a teamland of 120 acres, with a rather elastic boundary capable of some expansion and contraction as needed.

THE ACRE.

§ 61. *Nature of the D.B. acre.*—Unlike Huntingdonshire, where meadow is nearly always and woodland is often recorded by the acre, this unit of measurement is rarely mentioned in our Survey, and only in cases of claim or protest. We find

20 acres of woodland.
60 acres between field and wood.^b
12 acres of meadow.
16 acres of arable.
3 acres of woodland.
25 acres (? of arable).
1½ acres of meadow.
7 acres of arable.
1 acre of ?
12 acres of arable.
30 acres between wood and field.^b

Staughton 24.
Staughton 37.
Barton 53.
Milton Ernest 99a.
Sandy 108.
Maulden 190.
Chawston 215.
Chawston 215.
Chawston 215.
Pavenham 230.
Houghton Conquest 331.

It is significant that the jurors only use 'acres' for arable land when their number cannot be expressed in terms of the plough and its team; 16, 25, 7, and 12 acres cannot be turned into sixteenths, eighths, etc., of the teamland. That they should have used 'acres' for meadow and wood, or for mixed arable and wood, is readily to be understood. But of what kind of acres do they speak? for in some counties there are fiscal acres—120 to the hide—alongside of the actual areal acres. The probability is that these Bedfordshire acres were thought of as areal acres: firstly because 20, 30, and 60 fiscal acres could have been expressed in the way usual in D.B. as two-thirds of a virgate, one virgate, and half a hide; secondly, because woodland, returned by itself for fiscal purposes, was actually expressed in the usual way as a half hide (Southill, 246, 262).

§ 62. *Area of the acre.*—Accurate measurement must not be expected in 1086. To the husbandman of that date the acre was in essence the day's work with the team; he ploughed a furrow-long (furlong) as far as his team could pull without a rest, turned in a wide sweep on the headland and ploughed back again, repeating this till the block between his first two furrows had been all turned; four of such blocks made a good day's work and his 'acre.' If he wanted—it may be doubted whether he wanted—to measure his land, he had the length of his own foot to start with; from this he got a new tool, for he could lay off a pole of so many feet. But—of how many feet? As soon as we get a definite statement, we learn that the acre was measured by 40 poles^c along each side, and by 4 poles along the top and bottom. A century after D.B., within the first six charters to Bushmead Priory, we find perches of 15½ feet and of 18 feet both used in one Bedfordshire village; these yield 'acres' of 38440 and 51840 square feet respectively, while our modern acre includes only 43560 square feet; the first being 22 per cent. smaller, the second 19 per cent. larger, than our present acre. Worse still, we have a pole (perch) of 20 feet in 1197^d, but there is some reason to think that specially long poles were used to measure woodland^e. Small wonder that quarrels arose when land was sold "by the perches of that vill". But in all likelihood the D.B. husbandman knew naught of these things; to him an acre was a piece of land which he could just about plough in a day; and he used it as an easy way of expressing woodland and meadow of the same area. Dr. Round has however^f suggested that the D.B. acre of meadow was a day's math—as much as could be mown in a day.

THE MEADOW LAND.

§ 63. *The meadow and the team.*—The meadow land seems to have been set aside specially for hay and for green fodder, and was naturally valuable.

a. Maitland: D.B., 418.
b. Inter siluam et planum. The phrase seems to refer to woodland and tilled land taken together—"by wode and by felde." (V.C.H. Herts., i, 291).
c. Pole, rod, perch, virga, are only different names for a long stick.
d. B.H.R.S., vi, 13.

e. For a recent discussion of the subject, see Turner, pp. xciii.—ccxiii. Also V.C.H. Northants., i, 281, for authorities for the woodland perch.
f. B.H.R.S., iii, 91, 92.
g. Round: Domesday Studies, 218-220.

It is quite obvious, however, that it was not indispensable to agriculture, for we have 1400 teams in the county (B total, cols. vi and ix, Table III), but meadow for only 830 teams (col. xiii). This great disproportion—if we may judge from a later husbandry—can be explained by the early practices of grazing beasts on fallow and stubble, and of selling or killing and salting down for winter consumption the superfluous stock for which no winter keep was available. At any rate for 570 teams there was no meadow, and what was there for the horses, sheep and cows, of which our D.B. seldom or never speaks?

Our only clue lies in later agricultural practice; Walter of Henley^a in the early xiiith century assigns to draught horses (p. 13) oats nightly and twelve pennyworth of green fodder in summer; he speaks of cows (pp. 26, 27) only as on pasture; hay he only mentions (p. 31) as fed to sheep; but if the ox is to do his work (*si le buief deyt estre en poynt a fere son ouerayne*, p. 13), he must have $3\frac{1}{2}$ sheaves of oats every week, and twelve pennyworth of green food in summer. Walter does not tell us how much meadow yielded twelve pennyworth of grass; but an anonymous Husbandry^b, apparently his contemporary, explains (p. 69) that an acre of meadow can be mown for fourpence. If a fair inference may be drawn from these treatises, then, a hundred and fifty years after D.B., three acres were meadow enough for an ox or twenty four acres for the full team.

§ 64. User of the meadow.—The meadow land is returned apparently as a manorial profit, but it is not stated by whom or by what right it was enjoyed. It has been maintained that the meadow was common to all who held land, and it may safely be granted that it was common grazing land after the hay had been carried; later suits and fines confirm this practice. But its value and comparative scarcity raise more than a little scepticism as to common rights over the crop of green fodder and hay; it is not obvious why this crop should be communal any more than was the grain^c. In some cases—in all of which the meadow was sufficient or more than sufficient for the teams on his land—it does appear that others besides the lord enjoyed the meadow land, and paid a customary rent for the privilege. They are as follows, and include the only mention of hay in the record.

Langford 245	...	Meadow for 16 teams and 2s. surplus.
Sutton 314	...	" 13 " " 16d.
Sutton 316	...	" 3 " " 12d.
Sutton 365	...	" 2 " " 12d.
Biggleswade 289	...	" 10 " " 2s. from hay.

Whether, in other cases where the area of meadow was sufficient to the teams, it was regarded as communal property, may well be doubted in the absence of direct evidence. The mere fact that it is recorded in our geld-book seems to prove conclusively that it was a source of manorial profit, not a common right which could not be assessed for geld.

THE WOODLAND.

§ 65. Swine in woodland.—The head of swine carried by the woodland may perhaps help us to realise how much of the county was still under natural forest in 1086. Mr. S. F. Edge, whose successful revival of the practice of keeping swine in Sussex woodland is well

known, was kind enough to reply to my queries that "in a good autumn with a reasonable number of acorns and nuts, 50 pigs would feed well and grow well on 100 acres for about 1 month. . . . To actually let pigs live all the year round in the woods is quite impossible without additional food, unless a considerable amount of grass or other form of herbage exists. Wood without undergrowth will support more pigs than wood with thick undergrowth, which conceals all the ground plants. Again, a great deal depends on how wet the ground is. Under old conditions when there was a great deal of marshy ground, pigs got a great deal of food from snails, worms and things of that sort, which are excellent food, but under modern conditions, where there is decent drainage there is nothing like the quantity of food." It appears therefore that under present-day conditions of forestry and drainage, at the most favourable time of year, one pig would need two acres in order to thrive. But natural forest is not like the orderly close-planted woods of modern practice; it is far more open, grassy, and marshy, a condition which survives in parts of the New Forest. And it is clear from other sources that swine did run all the year in the open, unfed except that weaklings and sows which had newly farrowed were brought in and given leavings (*eschetes*) in a hard winter.

"There ought to be a Swineherd on those manors where the swine can be kept and nourished in forest or in wood or in waste or in marsh, without feeding from the grange; and if the swine can be kept with a little food from the grange in hard frost, then must a piggery be made in a marsh or a wood where the swine may be night and day. And then when the sows have farrowed, let them be driven with the weaker swine to the manors and be fed with leavings so long as the hard frost and bad weather last, and then driven back to the others. . . . For whoever will keep swine for [the whole] year at the costs of the grange, and will reckon the costs of provision for swine and swineherd together with the damage which they do yearly to the crops, he shall lose twice as much as he shall gain. And that can he soon see who will reckon it."

The swine must be fed in winter, and especially towards its end: "*in wynter geve yo' swine mete inowghe so þt þey may haue pouer & be strong of hym selfe and spesyaly in feuerere marche and aprell for þt tyme haue þey moste nede.*" Both the treatises here quoted were written about 150 years after D.B., and deal with a far more elaborated husbandry than is likely to have been practised in 1086.

§ 66. Estimation of the woodland.—Fortunately among the Feet of Fines published by the Society in 1919 is one which gives us a definite acreage required to common swine. In Fine 467, dated 1244, we read twice of common of pasture for so many swine "*uel pro quolibet porco ad duas oues*" or two sheep instead of each pig; and further, "*ita quod unicuique acre assignate sunt duo oues*," to each acre are assigned two sheep.

We have thus these equations: 2 sheep = 1 pig, 2 sheep = 1 acre; therefore, 1 pig = 1 acre for common of pasture. Granted that the common in question was not in woodland, but in fields when the crops had been harvested, still we get some idea of the acreage needed

a. Roy. Hist. Soc., 1890.

b. The unusually expansive entry at High Wycombe (V.C.H. Bucks., i, 238a) seems to confirm this view; meadow for three teams, and the horses

of the court, and the villan teams is recorded, apparently as an exception.

c. Walter of Henley: Roy. Hist. Soc. 1890, pp. 113-115, 54.

to carry swine; and if an acre of newly reaped stubble would carry a pig, probably $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of woodland would be more than sufficient. Mr. Airy^a estimated that $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres would be required for each head of swine, but there does not seem to be room enough in the county for so generous an allowance.

§ 67. **Pannage.**—The woodland with its head of swine appears among manorial profits, because payment for pannage was made, either in money or kind or in both, by those whose swine fed there. It is held that, according to local custom, either the tenth or the seventh pig was exacted by the lord; since the numbers of swine in D.B., when large, are almost invariably round numbers in multiples of ten, it seems likely that the custom of the tenth pig ruled in this county. In some cases additional payments were exacted, in money or in kind:

Cainhoe, 193	Wood for 100 swine and 2s.	
Clapham 99	" " 200 " "	6d.
Clophill 192	" " 200 " "	12d.
Cranfield 52	" " 1000 " "	iron for [? a] plough.
Eaton Bray 10	" " 300 " "	12d. therefrom.
Harlington 183	" " 400 " "	a ram and a load of cats from the wood.
Hatley 339	" " 4 " "	from rent 3s.
Luton 4	" " 200 " "	from the custom 10s. 8d.
Meppershall 281	" " 200 " "	from the custom of the wood 10s.
Salford 139	" " 150 " "	from the other custom 10s.
Segehu 249	" " 300 " "	from custom of the wood 10 rams yearly.
Silsoe 250	" " 10 " "	2s.
Stanford 111	" " 60 " "	2s.
Westcotts, 191	" " 100 " "	iron for [? a] plough.

It appears therefore that pannage for swine was not purely a common right, or, if a right, could only be exercised in return for a customary payment in swine or other things. If the translation of the Salford entry (139) is correct (but there is neither definite nor indefinite article in Latin) 'the' other custom implies the practice of the usual custom—that of paying the tenth (or seventh) pig.

THE PASTURE.

§ 68. **User of the pasture.**—At the outset must be dismissed from mind the idea of the rich enclosures called pasture to-day, as well as that of the complicated common rights which were appurtenant to tenements from the xiiith. century till the period of the Enclosure Acts. The leading authorities appear to be agreed that in early time beasts were grazed (i) on both arable and meadow lands after that the crop had been harvested, (ii) on the fallow, which by the two-course system would be half the arable area, (iii) on the open 'waste' or unreclaimed land (marsh heath and wood) some of which descends to this century as the 'commons.' All men of the vill are supposed to have had the right to graze their beasts on these lands. Unfortunately for the historian, grazing was so indispensable a part of rural economy, it was so absolutely implied by the existence of the live stock, that it is hardly ever mentioned in early documents until men begin to quarrel about it. The waste is often returned in Huntingdonshire as grazing woodland (*silva pastilis*): in Cambridgeshire the statement that "there is pasture for the cattle of the vill"

appears frequently but by no means universally; but for Bedfordshire pasture is only mentioned in five entries, and there is no indication of the extent of the waste.

Henlow 207	...	From pasture 10d.
Langford 245	...	From pasture 6s., and there is still pasture for 300 sheep.
Kempston 298	...	From pasture 2s.
Sandy 108	...	Pasture for the cattle of the vill.
Potton 313	...	Pasture for the cattle of the vill.

The first three entries, showing dues of money to the lord, imply clearly (i) that some grazing was not subject to a free common right, but was a privilege for which payment must be made, and (ii) that in the case of Langford, over and above the land on which this privilege had been granted, there was enough land to graze 300 sheep apparently left in the lord's sole hand^b. Already then the right of common, if it had ever been universal, had been curtailed. In the remaining two entries, for places which are close on the Cambridgeshire border, occurs the usual Cambridgeshire phrase. This coincidence cannot be due to the returns having been furnished by the same jurors, and may perhaps point obscurely to some custom of grazing prevalent in that county, which had not extended to, or had been abandoned by, the rest of Bedfordshire^c.

D.B. AREAS AND MODERN ACREAGE.

§ 69. **Stable and unstable boundaries.**—The extent of the modern county is, as we have seen (§ 39) sufficiently near to that of the D.B. county to enable a rough comparison between the two to be made, if we have the factors needed for conversion of D.B. areal measures into modern acreage. But the relation between the D.B. vill and the modern parish must be handled with extreme caution. Although our only two Saxon land-books show the boundaries of Chalgrave apparently stable and unaltered, and those of Aspley only modified by the loss of Holcote, yet there is no doubt that in early medieval time, the boundaries of many a vill were largely unstable; when the lord of a manor acquired land near by, it became added to his manor, and gradually in some cases later to his 'parish.' The instances which are most obvious from a mere consideration of quite recent maps are in the neighbourhood of Westoning; Higham Gobion is in three bits; both Pulloxhill and Harlington have detached portions; Priestley, now part of Flitwick, was a separate manor in another Hundred, and the forms of Tingrith and Toddington indicate similar changes. As Maitland insisted, when we have learnt to read in terms of history "that marvellous palimpsest," the map of the Ordnance Survey, we shall know more than now of the settlement of England, at least by Saxon and Dane; in this direction lies an almost unworked field of research. But even without such research we shall not be far wrong if we picture the Saxons settling in small groups for mutual help and protection against the Britons, cultivating at first what the Briton had tilled before them, expanding their arable and grazing lands gradually outwards from the settlement until they were confronted by similar expansion of the neighbouring settlements on every hand,

a. Airy: Bedfordshire Domesday, p. 102.

b. Curiously enough this is the only reference to sheep in our D.B., except for reddens of rams (Harlington 183, Segehu 240). There is but one reference (Dean, 84) to the horse, exclusive of the money paid in lieu of providing a sumter-horse for the royal use from the ancient demesne (2, 4, 6). Dogs also are only mentioned as subjects of a commuted payment (2, 4, 6).

c. Study of the Cambridgeshire D.B. shows that pasture is returned in one of three ways, that of the phrase already quoted, that in which a reddend in kind or money was due to the lord, and that in which the lord had "pasture for his own cattle." Collation of the entries relating to pasture in all counties is much needed. It is possible that "pasture for the cattle of the vill" implied a due in kind (say, the tenth calf) just as "wood for a hundred swine" seems to have implied exaction of the tenth pig.

and finally agreeing with these on boundaries well marked by a brook, a track, or such like,—the boundaries of their immediate rights, of the future vill, and ultimately of the parish. The ideal vill in open country would have the form of a hexagon, due to uniform centrifugal pressure on every side, but such irregular outlines as those of Toddington, Totternhoe, Tingrith, and Kempston, afford strong presumption of additions to the vill or parish; and conversely, where parishes are simple and compact in outline, and (or) abut on each other at natural boundaries, there is a similar though weaker presumption that their limits were settled in a remote past. Consequently, in order to arrive at any sort of comparison between the area of a D.B. vill and that of the modern parish, care must be taken to neglect villi which appear to have undergone later modifications of boundary, and to select as far as possible single-manor villi which so far as we know remained compact; of these the monastic manors of D.B. may be expected to be the most stable, and certainly are most easily followed by means of cartularies. If we can arrive at a ratio from these, it will be something gained, however small.

§ 70. Conversion of D.B. 'measures' to acres.

—The record offers three 'measures' for conversion into acres:—the arable land measured by the teams which can till it, the meadow land measured also by teams, the woodland measured by the swine which it will carry. For the first of these, 120 acres is accepted as a working factor for a teamland (§ 60); for the second and third, provisional factors of 24 acres per team (§ 63) and 1.5 acres per head of swine (§ 66) have been suggested above. If every acre in the county had been returned as geldable, if the three D.B. measures were exact, and if our three factors were correct; then, representing Teamlands by T, Meadowland by M, Woodland by W, and the Acreage by A,

$$A = (T \times 120) + (M \times 24) + (W \times 1.5)$$

and the D.B. components should be exactly equal to the modern acreage.

§ 71. Examples of comparison. — But our calculation never works out exactly; there is always a surplus or deficiency—an unknown quantity attributable to the rough estimation of D.B. 'measures,' the approximate nature of the three factors, and the residuum of non-gelding land ('waste of the manor' for rough grazing in 'common of pasture') and non-geldable land (flooded swamp and barren heather). Before considering the villi, we can test the method broadly on the figures which we have for the whole county. The area of this has been shown to differ but little from that of 1086; it is officially reckoned at about 302942 acres, or after deduction of the net gain (§ 39) 297334 acres. Taking the data from the B totals of Table III, columns iii, xiii, xiv, and applying the three factors, we get

Arable land	...	...	189720	acres.
Meadow land	...	...	19944	"
Wood land	...	...	25146	"
			234810	"
Deficit	...	...	62524	"
Modern acreage	...	...	297334	"

so that a deficiency of 21 per cent., or about a fifth of the county, is not returned in D.B. It is probable that this deficit is due mainly to the non-gelding common of pasture and to non-geldable land.

If I may take the example which I know best: In Aspley Guise, so lately as the beginning of the eighteenth century, marsh land extended up to the 300 ft. contour line, and many acres were described in conveyances as "land covered by water"; again, at the Enclosure in 1761, many acres were (some still are) open heath and furze land, of little or no value for ploughing in any century, and not much more for pasture. Until the figures of such lands have been worked out for many villages, the arithmetic of D.B. must be regarded as approximate.

As the three factors give to some villi a far higher average than they contain to-day, and to others a far lower one (the extreme range is from 102.7 per cent. too much to 61.8 per cent. too little), the sources of error probably lie elsewhere than in the factors. Now it is significant that the two extremes of the range just cited occur in adjacent parishes, Clapham and Thurleigh, which are known to have been entangled with each other and with Oakley in a common manorial ownership; and that if these three villi be statistically treated as one, the resulting deficit is only 30 per cent. of the modern acreage, a figure not far from that on the whole county. The inference is that lands have passed from one parish to another since 1086; and many other contiguous parishes, especially in or near the obsolete Half Hundred of Buckley, appear to have suffered similarly. But the lesson to be drawn is the danger of generalisation, until much more has been learnt of the history of individual village boundaries at all dates since D.B.

A more satisfactory group is presented by the (presumably) more stable villi, which formed single manors of monastic houses in 1086; to these may be added the two of which we have Saxon land-books. Their percentage deficit on the modern acreage is

Cranfield	...	...	25.2	Caddington	...	...	35.9
Barton	...	...	18.7	Chalgrave	...	...	39.6
Shillington & Pegsdon	...	...	23.7	Aspley Guise	...	...	12.6
Lidlington	...	...	16.9				

Their average deficit, 24.6 per cent., is close to that of the whole county (21 per cent.) and I incline to regard them as supplying a norm by which other villi may be tested, and as giving a fair indication of the non-gelding and non-geldable land.

An interesting little group is formed by Harrowden (42.1) Cardington (31.9) Cople (33.5) and Willington (24.0), because the percentage deficit is high; and a glance at the map will show that their parallel and artificial boundaries have probably been extended slowly down to the water's edge, as the marsh dried and the river contracted; it seems likely that they form an example of the later addition of land which was non-geldable in 1086, recognised above among the sources of inaccuracy. Similar percentages have been worked out for the rest of the county, but are best suppressed until more is known of the vicissitudes of the separate parishes.

THE NORMAN SOCIAL FABRIC.

THE BURGH.

§ 72. The Burgh of Bedford.—The entries of the burgh and of the folk who lived there are disappointingly meagre when compared with those of many towns; they are also rather puzzling. In the first place, D.B. speaks of Bedford not as a 'burgus' but as a 'villa,' using for it the same style as for the smallest hamlet; although it does speak later of its burgesses. Again, instead of a long list of burgesses, their lords their lands and their payments, such as we have (say) in the ease of Huntingdon, we are not told of any burgesses holding land in the town, and only of four who held outside its limits. Further, the burgh seems to have escaped Danegeld, except for one hide of Church land. While this perfectly accounts for the silence of D.B. about the burgesses inside the town, to what can we attribute its unusual exemption from geld? and why do its burgesses and canons hold in Biddenham 'from the King'? These facts are compatible with the idea—for want of evidence it does not amount to a theory—that, on its reconquest from the Danes by King Edward

the Elder in or about 919, Bedford and some land round it was in a special sense King's land by right of conquest, and only afterwards became (or at the date of D.B. was still becoming) a King's burgh, an evolution by no means unparalleled by other boroughs. "Domesday Book tells us that some, but by no means all, of the lands held by the Confessor were and had always been free of geld, and this freedom from taxation may imply other immunities,"^a from which the privileges which characterise a burgh could readily grow.

As a Half Hundred, the burgh sent a contingent of ten men^b to the national forces, naval and military, landfyrd and scyppfyrd (Bedford 1). How many men, how much trade was in the town, we are not told. But the burgesses were at any rate dealing in land; one bought land after King William came in England (348); another not only bought, but had a mortgage (vadiumonium) on land^c (Biddenham 349).

THE CHURCH.

§ 73. The Higher Clergy and Religious Houses.

—On the Church as an organisation our record gives little information.—The ecclesiastical head of the county was Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, under whose see it remained till 1837. His Saxon predecessor, Wulfwig, Bishop of Dorchester, and for a brief period of Lincoln, had apparently only held Leighton Church (3) with four hides of endowment; Remigius succeeded to this; and he also acquired some lands of Wulfwig's 'men' and others, together with revenue from the church of Bedford 44. Of other ecclesiastical tenants in chief, the Bishops of Coutances and Bayeux held rather as secular magnates than as churchmen, although listed among the latter; at their death their lands escheated to the King, and did not pass to their Sees. The other two Bishops, the five Abbots and the Abbess, and the two foundations of Canons, held their lands as endowments of religion; the great majority of these lands were pre-Conquest gifts. In addition, although their Orders are not mentioned in our D.B., Albert of Lorraine certainly, and probably also the two chamberlains Turstin and William, were also clergy, but held land in a secular capacity.

Although it has been held that the Conqueror behaved tyrannically towards the Church, that view is certainly not justified in this County. He left the religious houses in possession of their ancient lands, and confirmed their rulers in office. But with endowments made during the past few years, he felt at liberty to interfere; gifts to the Church by Harold and others of the House of Godwin were revoked on grounds of obvious policy; thus he gave to the Bishop of Durham estates (Millo 46, Arlesey 47) which had been granted by Harold to Waltham College in 1062^d. Again, shortly before 1066 the reversion of the manor of Studham had been promised (subject to a life interest^e to St. Alban; as William assigned this to Robert de Toden, the reversion had probably not enured in 1066. On the other hand many cases are known in which religious houses had demised manors T.R.E. to a thane for term of a life or lives; when the thane's lands were assigned to a

Norman after the Conquest, these manors were lost to the church; the only example in our record is furnished by Clapham 99, which, with the lands of Brihtic in other counties, fell to Miles Crispin and Robert de Oilli, and does not seem to have reverted to Ramsey Abbey^f. In all other cases he left the Church in possession of its endowments; even the gift of the treacherous Waltheof to St. Edmund (Kenemondewick, 49) was respected. For the apparent loss by St. Alban to Hugh de Beauchamp of a hide in Stotfold 133, the King does not seem to have been responsible.

The church of St. Paul, Bedford, the Canons of which were eventually re-founded as the Priory of Newenham, was the only religious corporation in the county which held in chief. It had held the equivalent of a hide of land T.R.E., of which Bishop Remigius deprived it (Bedford 1) and appropriated the revenue (Bedford 44). But two of its Canons, Ansfid and Osmund, held between them a hide of land outside the Burgh (Biddenham 65, 66), most of which had been assigned to the church in alms by Ralf Taillebois, presumably when Sheriff and therefore acting for the Crown. They also held 3 hides in Harrowden 325 as under-tenants of Countess Judith.

The Abbey of Elstow was founded by Countess Judith—it is said, in remorse for her betrayal of her husband—and appears as her undertenant in three villis (294, 296, 297). One alien priory had already obtained a footing in the county, St. Nicholas of Angers holding three virgates in Henlow 207.

§ 74. The Parish Church and Priest. — On 'parish churches,' except in Bedford and the Royal Manors, our record is absolutely silent. Yet when we cross the border into Huntingdonshire, we read again and again "There is a church and a priest." It is obvious on many grounds that the two counties were not surveyed by the same body; as neither priest nor church as such paid Danegeld, the Commissioners for this county apparently did not think it worth while to enumerate them, nor do they appear in the Ely interrogatory (§ 5). Besides Bedford (1, 44), only Leighton 3, 45, Luton 5, and Houghton 6 are mentioned as having a church; these three churches being on ancient demesne of King Edward, are correctly included in D.B. as royal possessions. It is noteworthy that Luton church was worth 20s. yearly, apart from its endowment of land, presumably from offerings.

Eight priests are recorded, mostly as undertenants, but it is not clear whether their land was glebe or not; glebe appears to be specified for two out of some fifty-four churches in Huntingdonshire. In view of this large number, it seems fairly certain that there must have been many more than eight churches in Bedfordshire at this date, and we might infer that only those priests who held a glebe were enumerated. Of these, one at least is shown from another source to have held a church (§ 176, Tovi), but it is possible that some of them may have held in a secular rather than a religious capacity, perhaps as clerks and men of business to their overlord. Exceptional cases are those of Ernuin who held without royal sanction in Harrowden 67, and

a. Maitland: D.B., 255.

b. Round: D.S., 117, n.1.

c. An illustration of D.B. arithmetic; he is returned as holding 1 h. 03 v. He had held T.R.E. 2½ v., had a mortgage on 1 v.; and bought 1½ v.; total 1 h. 03 v.

d. B.H.R.S., v. 57.

e. B.H.R.S., v. 55. This form of tenure, unnoticed by Freeman, is discussed by Round: D.B. Studies, 555-557 in a parallel case.

f. Compare Cart. Ramsey (R.S. 79), 11, 95; B.H.R.S., v. 56.

Alwin who held by a 'tenure of divine service' in Turvey 379. The eight instances are:—

Barford, Great 160	1	2	Anschetil, undertenant of Hugh de Beauchamp.
Biddenham 39	1	0	Ernuin, undertenant of Bp. Lincoln.
Bolnhurst 13	0	2	Tovi, undertenant of Bp. Bayeux.
Cople 176	0	24	Roger, joint undertenant of Hugh de Beauchamp.
Harrowden 67	1	0	Ernuin, tenant in chief, without warrant.
Risleley 146	0	2	Aluric, undertenant of Hugh de Beauchamp.
Thurleigh 229	0	1	Salomon, undertenant of Robert d' Oilli.
Turvey 379	0	03	Alwin, in King's service.

It is worth noting that six of the eight have names unmistakably Saxon.

THE ROYAL DEMESNE.

§ 75. The 'Land of the King.'—The three original royal manors are each entered as a "demesne manor of the King" (*dominicum manerium regis*) and have a status in English law which was not shared by other lands which accrued to him as escheats and so forth. They are of the 'Ancient Demesne,' of the 'Manors of St. Edward'; that is, "strictly and legally, they were crown lands at the moment when King William's claim inured, or to use the contemporary phrase, 'on the day when King Edward was alive and dead'." For many centuries their tenants had special liberties, special writs were issued for their protection, and they escaped many burdens which fell upon their neighbours. These three manors, Leighton 2, Luton 4, and Houghton [Regis] 6, are also distinct by rendering, not only miscellaneous payments, but also a complicated 'farm' of provisions for the royal household (§ 115), instead of a simple cash Valct. To each of them is attached a church, endowed with land. — The other two royal holdings, Sewell 8, and Biscot 9, are not marked as 'manors'; they had been added for additional revenue, the former to Houghton, the latter to Luton, by Ralf Taillebose; and he had also added 17 hides to the Leighton of King Edward's day, probably those lands which still form its 'hamlets'. The men of all these added lands could claim the privileges of ancient demesne, for D.B. was the authority to which appeal was made when such privileges were questioned and taken to trial.

THE SHERIFF.

§ 76. Shire Reeve and Vicecomes.—The Saxon Shire Reeve or Sheriff was "the King's steward and judicial president of the shire, the administrator of the royal demesne and executor of the law"^g; without appreciably altering his functions, the Normans gave him a new name, the Vicecomes—literally, and on the continent actually, the Deputy-Earl; but he was never that in England. The policy of William, guided always by the fear of introducing to his new kingdom the worst features of continental feudalism, was to increase the powers of the Sheriff whom he could control, at the expense of those of the Earl, who might easily become uncontrollably powerful. And where, as in Bedfordshire after the Conquest, there was no Earl to divide duties with him, the Sheriff had almost unlimited powers. With these D.B. is only concerned in so far as they are of a financial nature, but finance cuts deep. He was appointed, as he still is, by the Crown; and a natural tendency for the office to become heredi-

tary, though occasionally visible, never struck firm root in this country.

The name of only one Norman sheriff before 1086 has been definitely recorded—Ralf Taillebose, whose acts are writ large in Domesday. Nothing will give a clearer idea of the Sheriff's powers than to show how they were exercised. As chief financial officer, and liable to be called to account most strictly at the Exchequer, the Sheriff had to collect all moneys, geld or gablum, taxes or rent, due to the Crown; he had to render 'the farm of the county.' He was paid for his services (it seems, but our data are scanty) by the Sheriff's Aidⁱ, a contribution of which neither the amount nor the source are exactly known; he further received a share in the profits of justice, of the fines levied in the courts of the Shire and Hundred. To these there is no reference in our D.B., but we read that Leighton, Luton and Houghton (2, 4, 6) must each find an ounce of gold for the Sheriff yearly. The Sheriffs shared with the Barons of the Exchequer the privilege of exemption from Dancgeld, on account of their labours in its collection.

The administration of the royal demesne was among his duties, and we find him, a zealous official, adding 17 hides of land to Leighton, placing Sewell under Houghton and Biscot under Luton; his authority is shown by the fact that in the last two cases he had to break into the organisation of the Hundreds of Odecroft and Flitt, compensating the latter by adding to it five hides from another Hundred. Of these last two drastic alterations, the first was made "with the consent of King William," both were made "for the revenue (*crementum*) which it yielded to him"; whether Ralf or William were to receive the added revenue is not clear from the text; both lion and jackal profit by the kill, but 'ei' would seem to mean the King. If, as we have no reason to disbelieve, the general system of administration of royal demesne was much the same under William as under Henry I, the Sheriff would not make much by such transactions; if he added to the royal lands, he must render for them additional revenue (*crementum*) to the Exchequer; his gain would be merely the possible difference between the actual yield of the land and the *crementum*. If, as has been suggested for Godric the Sheriff in Buckinghamshire^k he actually added bits of royal land to his own estate, or used them to pay for his daughter's lessons in embroidery, he must still pay his full sum at the Exchequer. When Freeman wrote^l that Ralf's alterations were for the convenience of his own estate, he did not observe that Ralf had no land in the neighbourhood. It is possible that the Sheriff, like others, may have dealt wrongfully by private persons; it may be doubted whether he dared in any way to defraud the Crown.

In endowing St. Paul, Bedford, with three virgates (Biddenham 65, 66) Ralf was probably also acting officially; he had a hide of his own in Biddenham, but this was not from the same Saxon source as the Canons' land; the facts suggest (§ 78, vi) that this endowment of St. Paul was a royal compensation for the hide of which Bishop Remy had deprived the Canons (Bedford 1).—The case of Sharnbrook 275 is interesting; a Saxon house-carle refused to pay his rent after King William

g. Vinogradoff: Villainage in England, 90. The whole of his chap. iii is devoted to Ancient Domesne; see also Pollock and Maitland: Hist. of English Law, 1, 366-389.
h. Stubbs: Constitutional History, i, § 49.

i. The brief earldom of Hugh pauper is negligible in this connection.

j. Round: F. E., 500.

k. V.C.H., Bucks., i, 220, 221.

l. N.C., v. 794, 795.

came in England, whereon Ralf paid the rent and took the land as forfeit; this can only have been in his official capacity; the Sheriff was then no debt-collector, he would not be concerned in any rent as between subject and subject, but was directly responsible for any rent due to the Crown.—In the administration of the lands of the 'King's service' (ministerium Regis), by means of which his subordinate officials were paid and the king's almsmen supported, he had added to it no less than eleven hides, in itself a respectable estate (356, 363, 373).

Such being the evidence in the record of the functions of the Sheriff, we may venture a step further back, and infer from similar activities a similar authority. Ivo Taillebose, supposed brother of Ralf and dapifer of William Rufus, had in 1086 but a half hide in this county as undertenant of the Bishop of Lincoln, but sheriffs apparently had not always large estates in their sheriffwicks; and when Ivo is found to have increased the royal revenue from the ancient demesnes, and further to have imposed on them the payment of an ounce of gold to the Sheriff (2, 4, 6), we see him acting on exactly the same lines as did his brother. Again, when we are told of lands in Streatley 364 that Bundi the staller added them to the ancient demesne of Luton and that Ralf Taillebose found them so added, he has done precisely what Ralf might have done later. No one but the Sheriff had the right or duty to meddle with the royal demesnes in this fashion; and there can be little doubt that both Ivo Taillebose and Bundi the staller, whether called Sheriffs or under some other name, did Sheriff's work between 1066 and 1086.

THE TENANT IN CHIEF.

§ 77. *Tenure in chief.*—All land was held from the Crown. "The person whom we might be inclined to call its owner, the person who has the right to use and abuse the land, to cultivate it or leave it uncultivated, to keep all others off it, holds the land of the King either immediately or mediately. In the simplest case he holds it immediately of the King; only the King and he have rights in it; in such case he is said to hold of the King in chief (in capite); he is one of the King's tenants in chief or tenants in capite"^m. This was so much a commonplace of the feudal system as the Normans brought it, that, when a fief has been granted to a baron, the usual phrase in D.B. is merely that he 'holds' such and such a vill—"Walterius Gifardus tenet Woburne," "In Houstone tenet Hugo v hidas."

§ 78. '*Tenet de Rege.*'—Consequently when the phrase is met that the T. in C. 'holds from the King' (tenet de rege), something other than the ordinary tenure is probably implied, for it is abundantly obvious that the D.B. scribe was sparing of time and parchment. "The terms of the tenure are but very rarely described, for Domesday Book is no feodary"ⁿ. Still it must be obvious that not all T. in C. stood on the same footing; some had been rewarded for their services at the Conquest with great estates which were meant to, and did, descend to their heirs; at the furthest other end of the scale are the King's Reeves and Almsmen,

holding mere scraps of land. Between these extremes must lie other forms of tenure, of which (so far as the writer knows) no documentary account exists, but something may be inferred from analysis of the record. The first step towards such analysis is to bring together every hint of a temporary tenure, as contrasted with the apparently permanent and heritable tenure of the greater barons.

We cannot suppose that the King's Almsmen, or the reeves and grooms who had small parcels of land for their sustenance while in office, were given a heritable right with sac and soc, thol and theam, and the rest of it; the Canons of St. Paul, Bedford, enjoyed their land ex officio on an "ownership" very different from that of Hugh de Beauchamp; the widow of a tenant in chief would fall into the King's hand for wardship and re-marriage^o as surely as her later sisters; in these already we have three forms of 'tenure in chief' which are not those of a King's Baron. From these we may advance a short step into a reasonable conjecture that William, like his successors, assigned to his immediate servants and officers lands suitable to maintain their condition, their interest being either for life as reward, or coterminous with office as salary. A very large number of the cases of 'tenet de Rege' fall under one or other of these categories.

(i). It is obvious that the Reeves and Almsmen held 'from the King'; and in the entries 356-361 this fact, or the holder's office, or the King's soc or service, are almost invariably mentioned.

(ii). Of the five entries, 351-355, which I have also referred to the King's service (§ 25), four hold de Rege and the fifth is a minor official.

(iii). Passing from these humble officials to the great officers, it is highly significant that all the T. in C. who are named as higher officials in D.B. (with one exception) or are known to have been of the King's service, hold de Rege; the phrase is not always repeated for every holding but is always given on the first entry of the fief.

Staughton 254	...	...	de Rege	Hugh pincerna (butler)
Segresdone 255	...	...	—	—
Luton Church 5	...	...	de Rege	William "camerarius (chamberlain)
Potsgrove 263	...	...	de Rege	—
Battlesden 264	...	...	—	—
Totternhoe 265	...	...	de Rege	—
Pavenham 277	...	...	—	—
Winwick 278	...	...	—	—
Beeston 279	...	...	—	—
Campton 280	...	...	—	—
Meppershall 281	...	...	—	—
Felmersham 282	...	...	—	—
Sharnbrook 275	...	...	de Rege	Osbern piscator (fisherman) ^q
Carlton 276	...	...	—	—

The tenant's whole fief is set out above in each case; of the three holdings not marked de Rege, Segresdone was only one virgate and is in any case unimportant; Battlesden, like Luton Church and Potsgrove had been held by Morcar priest of Luton, and presumably was held on the same terms as they were, a royal chaplaincy we may call it; Felmersham was a part of the holding of the Lardener Serjeant. The only official mentioned as such in D.B., who is not generally stated to hold de Rege, is Eudo dapifer, but he was a much greater man than these and evidently held on a baronial status and not officially as dapifer; at some date after his death his fief became the barony of Beauchamp of Eaton.

(iv). Of the three ladies who appear in the record as T. in C., Countess Judith, King William's niece, certainly transmitted her husband's Earldom of Huntingdon through her daughter to David I of Scotland, and may be regarded herself as of baronial status, holding 'in her own right'—if a modern phrase may be used. Azelina the widow of Ralf Taillebose had no son, and her estates would naturally have fallen into the king's hands on her widowhood; in the first entry of her fief (Battlesden 334) it is said that she holds de Rege. The third lady, Adeliza de Grentmesnil, was not a widow, and therefore not in the King's hand; but she had received (apparently for life only) a separate estate in four counties; and her first entry is marked 'de Rege.'

(v). The burgesses of Bedford (347-350) all hold de Rege. In many burghs something like half of the numerous burgesses hold their burgages of the King, the others of one Baron or another. Here the only four recorded held directly from the King, a condition which suggests that Biddenham and Bedford had been in royal hands and that Bedford was slowly rising from the status of a mere fortress or 'burh' to that of a Burgh (§ 72).

eam non dabo marito nisi secundum uelle suum," etc. Stubbs: Sel: Charters, 97.

p. See § 80.

q. The status of D.B. boroughs is thoroughly examined in Maitland, D.B., 172-219.

m. Pollock and Maitland: History of English Law, i, 211.

n. Maitland: D.B., 151; but he quotes a few instances.

o. The coronation Declaration of Henry I 15 years after D.B. (which he did not keep) shows what had been the practice before, just as it was afterwards. "Et si mortuo barone siue alio homine meo . . . uxor eius remanserit et sine liberis fuerit dotem suam et maritacionem habebit et

(vi). The same suggestion of royal ownership naturally accrues from the tenure de Rege by the two Canons of St. Paul, Bedford, in Biddenham (65, 66; as usual only the first entry has the phrase de Rege). At least three-quarters of the endowment would seem to have been a royal grant, made through Ralf Taillebois probably as sheriff; the other quarter had been held from King Edward, and from William after him.

It is hoped that the foregoing cases have shown the probability that de Rege is no mere scribal flourish, but is used with a tenurial significance; the King was lord of all the land, but lord of these lands in a very special sense. On this inference the more obscure occurrences of the words may be approached; but considering the darkness of the years 1066—1086, we may be saddened but must not be surprised if many cases are left as hopeless.

(vii). In the case of Church lands, we can at least see that de Regno is used only where a post-Conquest gift has been made by the Crown. Millo 46 and Arlesey 47 (of which, as usual, the first entry only is said to be held de Rege) had been confirmed to Waltham College (afterwards the Abbey) by King Edward as lately as 1062, but had been assigned by King William to the Bishop of Durham.^r All the land of the Abbey of St. Edmund had been recently acquired; (a) a burgess of Bedford claims to hold of the Abbot in Biddenham 48, but the men of the Hundred deny his claim; his predecessor did not hold of the Abbey, but had power to give his land, and Ordui had seized it when reeve of the burgh; there is no evidence that the Abbot had, or indeed made, any claim to the land; the phrase de Rege is not used; (b) Kenemondwick 49 had been given to St. Edmund T.R.W. by Earl Walteof and his wife 'in alms,' and therefore would not be held de Rege in a special sense, nor is the phrase used; (c) on the other hand Blunham 50 was held by St. Edmund de Rege; it had been held T.R.E. by socmen who could dispose of their land, and therefore had been assigned by William newly to the Abbey. It is remarkable that all the other monastic foundations had a pre-Conquest title to their lands, and that in no case is the phrase de Rege used of them. Of St. Paul, London, which had acquired a manor since the Conquest (Caddington, 64), we read that the Canons have a writ of the King to say that he gave it to them; this clears them from holding de Rege in any special sense.

(viii). With the laymen the darkness becomes thicker. Yet is noteworthy that out of the last nineteen T. in C., the lesser men and smaller estates (entries 251—261), the first entry of the fief of sixteen of them contains the words de Rege (one entry even gives the convincing phrase de feudo Regis, of the king's fief for Tempsford 261). Of the remaining three, two were important Barons in other counties, Richard son of Count Gilbert and founder of the house of Clare, and Osbern son of Richard of Richard's Castle in Herefordshire; the third is a quite unimportant person, Gunfrid de Cioches, who appears to have transmitted his land by inheritance.—On the other hand, the phrase is unknown on the fiefs of such great barons as Count Eustace, Walter Giffard, William de Warenne, and Hugh de Beauchamp; and one is driven to the belief that among the lesser men, as with the named officials in (iii) above, the tenure may have been in the nature of a more temporary grant, in return for a service to the Crown which can no longer be traced. In some cases it can be guessed; Osbern son of Walter (Little Barford 274) is suggested to have been Osbern the Chamberlain; Albert of Lorraine (Chalgrave 283), the Chaplain,^u was in high favour with both Edward and William. But at present is was profitless and dangerous to grope further into this obscurity. The instances of the phrase among lay tenants in chief, additional to those set out for avowed officials in (iii) above are:—

Toddington 101	... Ernulf de Hesding.	Husb. Crawley 266.	William Lovet.
Tilsworth 120	... William Peverel.	Fhtwick 267	... William "
Wardon 221	... William Spech.	Farnlish 268	... William "
Studham 224	... Robert de Todeni.	Farnlish 269	... Henry son of Azor.
Flitton 231	... Robert Fafiton.	Barford, Lit. 274	Osbern son of
Odell 236	... Walter Fleming.		Walter.
Podington 251	... Hugh Fleming.	Chalgrave 283	... Albert of Lorraine.
Hinwick 252	... Sigar de Cioches.	Riseley 287	... David de Argen-
Staughton 256	...		toin.
Dunton 260	... Richard Pungiant.	Stratton 288	... Ralf de Insula.
Tempsford 261	...	Wardon 291	...
		Potsgrove 292	... Gozelin Brito.

It also occurs once on the fief of Eudo dapifer, in the vindication of a claim (Beeston 115); Norman had held land T.R.E. and T.R.W., but Eudo's men claim that he holds not from Norman but from the King. Here 'de Rege' is merely contrasted with the implication 'et non de Normanno,' tenure from the Crown with tenure from a subject. A similar phrase occurs in Silsoe 250, where Hugh holds from Walter, brother of Seier, but for a part of the land "this half hide Hugh holds from the King, as they say."

(ix) At least there seem to be good grounds for an open mind as to the possibility of more than one kind of tenure in chief, apart from the services due. Consideration of this point in the D.B. of other counties may throw further light, but direct proof is not likely to be discovered now. "The only documentary evidence that the great lords of the Conqueror's day could have produced by way of title deed, was, in all probability, some brief writ which commanded the royal officers to put him in seisin of certain lands, and said nothing about the tenure by which he was to hold them."^a The tenure may have been recorded at the Exchequer, but no roll of the kind exists, and the quotation certainly describes the few

personal writs to laymen which have been calendared. Yet more than one kind of tenure seems to be implied in a royal writ between 1082 and 1087, addressed to Geoffrey bishop of Coutances and Robert Count of Mortain, enjoining restitution to Ely of lands which had been diverted from the demesne: "And if any shall have said that he holds aught thereof by gift from me, tell me the size of the land and by what tenure he claims it" (*quo modo eam reclamant*).^b

§ 79. Tenure in chief by military service.—Of the services by which land was held in chief in this county, our record tells almost nothing. But it is certain that for the larger fiefs the services were in almost every case military; in return for the land the tenant was bound to furnish a fixed number of armed horsemen; even the monastic houses had to render their quota. Working backwards from the Cartae of 1166, Mr. Round^c has shown that, in the xiith and probably in the xith century, the quota of knights due was with rare exceptions a multiple of 5 or 10, an assessment on a decimal principle, based on the constabulary of ten knights as the unit of the feudal host. This system seems to have been introduced by the Normans; another principle held under Saxon rule. The due quota appears (but it is unlikely that it really was) somewhat arbitrarily assessed; certainly it bore no direct and obvious ratio either to the hideage or to the value of the fief.

§ 80. Tenure in chief by serjeanty.—This tenure, by rendering some service in or for the royal household, is not mentioned; but there can be little doubt that Meppershall^d and Felmersham were already held on this tenure, together with Felsted in Essex.^e As Mr. Round points out, it is not the usual practice of D.B. to name the vocation to which the serjeanty is attached; and it is more probable that the three manors were attached to the Larderership (they were already in one holding) than that the Larderership was later imposed on the estate.—It is also probable that Osbern fisher held by a petty serjeanty of providing fish from his stew (*uiuarium piscium*, Sharnbrook 275); possibly salt fish for winter, just as the local larderers were expected to salt venison. A more or less parallel case is at Soham in Cambridgeshire, where seven fishermen hold on the royal manor "rendering to the King a present of fish thrice in the year according as they can." Osbern seems to have held directly from the King, since a rent or gablum was attached to his land of which the Sheriff took cognisance; he held much more land than a mere fisherman, who was usually ranked near the villans; he has therefore been included provisionally among officials in § 78, iii.

§ 81. Other forms of tenure in chief.—In the case of the smallest holdings from the Crown it is reasonable to suppose that the service to be rendered was sometimes pecuniary; when we read that two burgesses of Bedford "did service neither to the King nor to any other" for 3½ virgates which they had bought (Biddenham 348, 349), only a gablum or rent can have been expected.—One instance of what later lawyers would call 'tenure by divine service' is exhibited by the case of Alwin priest (Turvey 379) who "performed a mass in every week on the second day for the soul of the King

r. Waltham, co. Berks., had the same history (D.B., i, fo. 58b); they were apparently escheated as having been Earl Harold's gift (§73, and B.H.R.S., v. 57).

s. Davis and Whitwell: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannum*, xxv, xxvi.

t. Round: *Commune of London*, 36—38.

u. Pollock and Maitland: *Hist. Engl. Law*, i, 237.

v. Cotton M.S., Tiberius A. vi, fo. 104 (olim 106).

w. Round, F.E., 259.

x. For this Larderership, see A. V. Jenkinson; B.H.R.S., iii, 251.

y. D.B. ii, 189.

and Queen."—Lastly there are the minor officials of the last page of D.B., the reeves and so forth, who will be mentioned under their titles (§ 107); they held in virtue of their office.

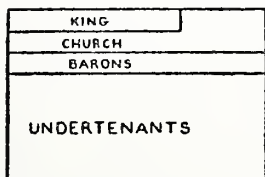
§ 82. **Feudum.**—The use in D.B. of this word, generally translated as fee or fief, is exceedingly obscure. "Very rarely does it denote a tenure, or a mass of rights; usually, though it may connote rights of a certain order, it denotes a stretch of land; thus we may read of the fee of the Bishop of Bayeux, thereby being meant the territory which the Bishop holds. Occasionally however we may hear of a man holding land in feudum,"^a but not necessarily by military tenure; such tenure was probably implied in its initial meaning, but very soon after D.B. it connotes a hereditary right, in land and other things. The word occurs as follows:—

Eversholt 11 ...	Tenet Ansgot de fedo episcopi Baiocensis.
Barford, Lit., 50	Quinque hidas de feudo Abbatis.
Beeston 115 ...	Set non est de feudo Lisois.
Strealey 196 ...	Pirot tenet de maritagio sue femine et tenet in feudum de Nigello Albinensi.
Wyboston 202 ...	Pirot tenet de rege de feudo Nigelli.
Tempsford 261 ...	Tenet Robertus de feudo regis.
Bromham 302 ...	De feudo Comitisse est.
Radwell 305 ...	Tenet Hugo de feudo Comitisse.

These are all obscure phrases, and one at least is quite unintelligible.^b On the whole the sense seems to imply an estate in land, continuous if not hereditary, rather than tenurial rights, as the 'fief' from which the undertenant held.

§ 83. **Allotment of the Shire.**—Summarising the results obtained from Table VI, we may say that the King's demesne was assessed at 7.8 per cent. of the total hidage; the Church Land at 16.1 per cent., and the Baron Land at 73.3 per cent. These proportions are approximately maintained in the figures for the teamlands, so that there is no reason to suppose that any class was heavily or lightly assessed in comparison with another; of the teamlands the King held 10.8 per cent., the Church 15.6 per cent., and the Barons 71.8 per cent. As regards annual value, it is unfortunately not possible to calculate that of the Royal demesne; but of other demesne lands and primary tenancies, 18.6 per cent. of the value belonged to the Church, and 80.0 per cent. to the Barons. Roughly speaking we may therefore say that three-quarters of the County had been allotted to lay Overlords, the remaining quarter being divided between Church and King in the proportion of 15 to 10.

But while some three-quarters of the county is thus assigned in D.B. to tenants in chief (for they were re-



sponsible for its geld), the actual land from which they drew produce was comparatively insignificant. They held in demesne only about 17 p.c. of this, or 12 p.c. of the whole county. No less than 82 p.c. of the land allotted to them, or 60 p.c. of the whole county, had been placed by them in the hands of undertenants, the future

class of 'squires,' which thus assumes a rather unexpected significance in the daily life of the time. The annexed diagram shows graphically the proportion of land actually enjoyed by each class, and the vast importance of the undertenant in the development of the country.

§ 84. **Agricultural Efficiency.**—Taking it broadly, we may say that Church land was somewhat better administered than Baron land. The mean percentage ratio of all Church Lands together shows an improvement of 44 per cent., that of lay lands similarly treated shows a rise in value of only 20 per cent., over the Q.R. valet. No Church land had fallen in value between the date of its receipt and 1086, except a very small holding of the Abbot of Peterborough, and the land of Bishop Odo of Bayeux who had been in prison for four years at this date. In the Baron land is noticeable that all the big holders—Eudo dapifer, Hugh de Beauchamp, Nigel d'Albini, and Countess Judith (or her late husband),—had improved their demesnes to an extent above the average, with the exception of Walter Fleming,—a curious exception, since the drop was at Odell which at a later date was the caput baronie, the head manor of the Wahull estate.

The efficiency or incompetence of the tenant in chief seems to have had a natural effect on his undertenants. The extraordinary fall in the values of practically all lands of the non-resident Count Eustace (table IV, col. xviii) should be contrasted with the same values for the lands of Eudo dapifer, on which the only holding valued below the Q.R. valet is an outlying virgate. There are plenty of other examples.

A heavy Danegeld would certainly work as a punishment for slack husbandry; the annual value of Gozelin Brito's lands was 3li. 10s., but Danegeld at 6s. on the hide amounted to 3li., leaving a small margin of subsistence. The corresponding figures for Hugh de Beauchamp's lands, demesne and others all together, are 177li. 17s. 6d. against a Danegeld of 52li. 2s. 9d.; for his demesnes only the value is 85li. 12s. and the Danegeld 22li. 4s. Undoubtedly it was a 'geld exceeding stiff,' but it was only about 5s. 6d. in the pound, less than is paid for income tax to-day; further it is not certain that tenants in chief were not exempt from this particular levy,^c though they paid the customary Danegelds of 2s. on the hide.

Of 'waste' land which had passed out of cultivation we hear very little. A virgate and a half in Wyboston 55, and a half hide in Beeston 279, are the only instances noted. We rarely get a value at a date between the Q.R. valet (generally taken to mean 1066—1068 or thereabout) and the 1086 valet; but in the case of Salpho 137 the manor had been seriously depreciated in value since Ralf Taillebois had received it in part exchange for Ware.

THE UNDERTENANT.

§ 85. **Undertenancy by military service.**—While the record shows on my computation 155 named undertenants, besides the nameless men at the end of Table VII, it is silent as to the terms of their tenure. Assuredly this was mainly by military service, then as before and after. On the Saxon military system, an armed warrior

holding in chief at Wyboston, though the Cainhoe barony was still in existence, vested in coheirresses.

c. Round: Dom. Stud., 97, 98.

a. Maitland: D.B. 152.

b. Wyboston 202. The actual words can only mean that the King took land in some way out of Nigel's fee and gave it to Pirot. This is possible; the Feudal Aid of 1302-1303 shows his descendant Ralf Pirrot apparently

seems to have been due from every five hides; that this was not the Norman principle is clear, but the exact relation between land held and service due is still uncertain; it seems to be true that the undertenant of 5 hides must serve as a knight, but the converse—that every one so serving must have held 5 hides—is certainly not the case. It is possible that the study of a barony in greater detail than has yet been attempted might throw light on the matter. Meanwhile we must be content with the statement that the bargain between the T. in C. and the undertenant was that, in return for his land the latter must serve as knight or find his share of a knight, must acquit his overlord against the King for his land when the army is summoned.

§ 86. **Permanency of Tenure.**—As with the T. in C., there is no hint in the record of the permanency of undertenure, or otherwise. Sometimes a household officer is enfeoffed; the Bishop of Bayeux (Newton 27) and Hugh de Grantmesnil (Milton Ernest 33) have each put their dapifer on the land, and the Bishop of Bayeux his chamberlain (Totternhoe 265), presumably as salary for office, and tenable only during office. More interesting are the cases in which the tenure seems to have been of a permanent character, for the undertenant's descendants are found on the same holding long afterwards as 'lords of the manor'; these cases will be given in detail in Part IV. of this memoir.

§ 87. **Multiple Undertenure.**—It may be presumed that, immediately after the battle of Hastings, the men whom a Norman magnate settled on his newly acquired fief were his retainers, friends and relatives,—that there was a personal tie between overlord and undertenant. This is shown in many cases by known genealogy, and seems to be corroborated in others by the geography of the cantons of Normandy. By 1086 however the personal tie seems to have been so far relaxed that a few undertenants are found to hold from more than one overlord. Thus William de Caron is undertenant of the Bishop of Lincoln, Eudo dapifer, and Nigel d'Albini; Fulcher of Paris holds from Walter Giffard, Countess Judith, and Nigel d'Albini; Pirot also is a case in point. Just as in the cases where a T. in C. farmed as undertenant outlying holdings of another T. in C. (§ 30), the proximity of the holdings shows that the motive was a more economical husbandry. But the principle, once introduced, must have done much to break down the feudal tie by giving a greater independence to the undertenant.

§ 88. **Mesne Lord and Rear Vassal.**—Already in 1086 the tendency of the undertenant to enfeoff other men of part of his land was visible; certain villans hold from Hugh, who holds from Herbert son of Ivo his uncle, who holds from the Bishop of Bayeux, who holds from the King (Wilden 18)—as Maitland would say, a feudal ladder of five rungs. In later phrase, Herbert is mesne (medius) between the overlord and the rear-vassal Hugh. Each would be responsible to the man next above him for the land's due military service; in practice it would be carried out by the actual occupier Hugh. The instances in the County are not numerous:—Carlton 16, Turvey 17, Wilden 18, Little Barford 56, and Cudsand 82;—nor do they show any noteworthy features, but are of interest as the beginning of that process which ultimately broke up the power of the feudal barons by breaking up their estates into fractions.

d. D.B., i, 61b.

§ 89. **Grades of Rank.**—The undertenants of the greater barons were seemingly of ranks as different as were the T. in C. themselves; they vary from barons to socmen, from abbots to concubines. But many of those who bore the name of the Norman village from which they sprang, seem to have been cadets of good houses (for example, Ernulf of Ardres) and themselves to have founded families of some importance in later England (Serlo de Ros). Others we may take to have been (or to have been the sons of) mere soldier-adventurers of William's army. It would seem that their holdings were to some extent proportional to their rank by birth; glancing down Hugh de Beauchamp's fief (Table III) we see that the men with a place-name or sur-name held fairly large estates, very different from the single hide or less which fell to the lot of most of those who are recorded by a simple font-name.

Acard de Ivri	10h. ov.	Wimund de Taissel	11h. ov.
William Froissart	9h. 2v.	Osbert de Broilg	5h. 1v.
William de Locels	12h. 1v.	Serlo de Ros	7h. ov.

There are, of course, exceptions; William Basset held only 2h., and Riwalo 5h. 1v., nor is the point so clearly shown on every fief. But already we dimly see a stratification of ranks, foreshadowing the esquires and yeomen of later centuries.

THE MANOR AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

§ 90. **The meaning of 'Manor.'**—It has been contended that this term has no technical significance in D.B.,—that it meant no more than 'land.' But while a manerium was assuredly always terra, not all terra formed a manerium. The evidence of the record is overwhelming that, when our Commissioners used the word manerium, they had something much more definite in mind than merely land. What they had in mind is another question, which they were not concerned to answer for the instruction of posterity.

To certain entries only in the Beds. D.B. (about 107 in number) did the scribe prefix the Lombardic M representing Manerium (compare the reproduction in § 8). In almost every case the entry goes on to describe the holding as "hoc manerium"; in about five cases it is called 'hec terra,'—not wrongly, because a manor is land, and the greater includes the less; in six more cases both manerium and terra are used to describe it. In more than 30 entries, the M has apparently been omitted by inadvertence, for the holding is described later in the entry as a manerium; in many of these cases (and in many to which the M is prefixed, roughly 10 in all), the tenant is said to hold it "for a manor"; this must surely imply some special right or duty attached to a manor; and when the scribe wrote "Miles holds these two manors for one manor," he was thinking of something more than two blocks of land.

The case of Cople (170—176) is instructive:—"Of this manor of Chochehol, Ralf Talgebose had nine hides in exchange for Wares." D.B. shows us 9h. 3v., distributed in seven undertenancies, out of which four hides are held by Robert "for a manor"; whatever the rights and duties of the nine hides might be, they are now centred in Robert, in spite of the partition of the vill by Ralf or his successor among a Norman soldiery. But it is still possible to speak of the "manor of Chochehol" as a whole.

The actual word manerium seems to have been introduced by the Normans. Like mansa, mansio, mansura, etc., it means literally no more than a dwelling place; but every man dwelt somewhere, and the compilers of D.B. had something more in their minds. From a brilliant dissection of the available evidence^o Maitland concludes that the essential feature of a manor in D.B. was a house against which Danegeld was charged. The tax truly is assessed on land, but it has to be drawn in practice from some taxpayer in some house. And from whom? for so many are concerned. From the villans and bordars who occupy it? from the small undertenant

e. Maitland, D.B., 120-122.

above them for whom they sometimes work? from the lord of the manor? or from the overlord? for these all have an interest in the land. Naturally, the State desires to collect its dues in the largest sums with the least trouble; the small folk are glad enough to keep the tax-collector from their door by promise of rent and service to their lord; the lord needs these rents and services, and undertakes liability for the taxes, he becomes responsible for them as principal debtor; his manor-house or hall is the place where the debt is demanded and paid. [The whole thing is paralleled by our system of 'compounding for rates']. There is reason to believe that socmen and freemen T.R.W. paid their own dues, but paid them at their lord's hall, and that he was to some extent responsible for their solvency. This theory of Maitland is incapable of direct proof, but is consonant with the evidence of D.B. and its contemporaries. That the term manor lost this special meaning at a later period followed from the disappearance of Danegeld from the scheme of taxation; its later connotation was an invention of the lawyers, and was based largely upon the working of its little court.

This theory has been contested by Vinogradoff on the ground that "the tax-collector had primarily in view the hundred and vill, and not the manor." But this criticism entirely misses the whole point of the rearrangement of D.B. If he was concerned chiefly with the taxable values of hundreds and vills, which had all been set out in due order by the original returns, why should his work have been made infinitely more laborious by rearranging the returns into fiefs? If on the other hand the lords were responsible for the geld of the men on their land, the rearrangement by fiefs was absolutely necessary. Let us take a concrete instance; in Henlow were 25 villans and bordars, 6 undertenants, and 3 tenants in chief (at least 31 persons to pay geld), and 2 manors; a regiment of collectors would have been needed in this County alone for house-to-house collection from the individual bordars and villans, especially as the size of their holdings is rarely recorded by D.B.; but if the collector had to go only to the Henlow manors of Nigel d'Albini and Azelina Taillebois and the adjacent Fleming manor of Langford, and to levy on the gross return of hidage, his task would have been comparatively light, and could perhaps be further lightened by collection at the head manors or capita baronie of the T. in C. concerned. True—the Hundred might have collected the geld as it (apparently) assessed it, but there is no positive evidence to show that it did, and a good deal of negative evidence to show that it did not. We may admit with Vinogradoff that the term manerium implied a good deal more than merely the place where geld was paid; it was an economic unit of agriculture, it was probably already a centre of some judicial and administrative functions, it was used to some extent as a part of the military organisation. But D.B. is a geld book, and rarely condescends to such matters.

Of the hall or manor-house our D.B. does not speak, though it is sometimes mentioned elsewhere in the record. It proceeds at once to the assessment of the land attached to the manor, the total land (by Maitland's theory) for the geld of which the manor was responsible. Reckoned separately from this total is the demesne, the land on the produce of which the lord was himself sup-

ported, the 'home farm' of the manor; this is assessed either in hides which (theoretically) paid geld, or in carucates which escaped (§ 58). Then follow the miscellaneous sources of manorial profit—the meadow pasture and wood, and so forth, discussed above (§ 63—68), the mill fishery and so forth described below (§ 92—94).

While the Normans seem to have introduced the term ('heal' or hall may have been the Saxon word), it is certain that they did not give us the institution of the manor, which is of older date than the Conquest. They divided or joined together existing manors, and created new ones; they made the manor a means of superposing their system of tenure on Saxon custom, and of organising the kingdom for fiscal administrative and judicial ends. But the basal structure was Saxon by origin, and is to be sought in such royal charters as those of Aspley and Chalgrave.* One may hazard the suggestion that the not infrequent phrase "So and so holds such hides 'for' a manor" marks the post-Conquest creation of a new manor or alteration in an older one.

§ 91. **The dependencies of a manor.**—When a piece of land 'lies to' a manor, we may take it that it paid its geld and soke there." Sometimes these outliers are described as a 'berewick' or 'member' of the central manor, then or previously.

h. v.

Riseley 123	1 0	berewick of Keysoe 122, T.R.W.
Charlton 332	10 0	" " Potton 313, T.R.E.
Henlow 342	1 3	" " Stotfold 133, T.R.E.
Shelton 285	3 0	member " Wootton 284, T.R.E. et W.

Of those, Charlton is itself marked as a manor, but had been separated from Potton and given to another tenant in chief by the date of D.B. Henlow was held by Azelina Taillebois, but was claimed by Hugo de Beauchamp, the holder of Stotfold, as not being part of her dower. In all four cases the central manor is held in demesne, and the others (like the grange and the barton) seem to receive a special name as detached portions, not of the estate as a whole, but of the demesne in particular.

There seems to be no reason why Chainhale 127, Goldington 128, and Hatley 322 should not have been described as berewicks, except that these lands were probably physically continuous with the demesne manors of Putnoe and Potton respectively. Other cases which might apparently have been described as members or berewicks are Cople 173 (T.R.E.), Stratton 242 (T.R.E. et W.), Wardon 291 (T.R.E.), and Everton 323 (T.R.E.).

MANORIAL PROFITS.

§ 92. **Value of Mills.**—Of the sources of agricultural profit to the Manor—the meadow pasture and woodland—enough has been said already (§ 63—68). Following these in importance is the Mill.¹ Its economic value lay very largely in the revenue derived in grist or money from the tenants who owed soke to the mill and were thereby bound to bring their corn to be ground there. The revenue from the mills in Table XII is therefore not purely the result of the mechanical efficiency and horse-power developed, because the extent of the mill's custom was not settled by competition in a free market, except perhaps among neighbouring vills which lacked water power. Hence, as one passes down a stream (say from Bletsoe to Kempston), the value of the mills fluctuates very much, though the natural advantages and defects of the sites may have contributed to this. On the upland brooks, many of the mills recorded were probably molendina hiecialia, working only in winter when water was plentiful; this would account for their low values.

f. P. Vinogradoff: *Growth of the Manor*, 300.

g. B.H.R.S., vi, 42—47.

h. Hanefeld 86 is an exception, but lay in another county than its head

manor.

i. It is to be noticed that both of our Miltons were Middletons, not Milltowns.

§ 93. **Character of mills.**—There seems to be little room for doubt that most of the river mills were undershot (that is, with the lower part of the wheel submerged in the stream) as all on the Ouse are to-day. The contour line of 50 feet above sea level cuts the Ouse at Eaton Socon, and that of 100 feet cuts the Ivel at Langford; between these two points we have to put in 13 to 18 mills. From Turvey to Bedford the fall is hardly 40 feet, but we have to place about 14 mills in this stretch also. If it is correct that an overshot wheel (one for which the stream is artificially held up so as to strike the wheel from above) demands a mill-head of 8-10 feet, we could then only allow four or five of these in either stretch of our sluggish main rivers.

On the more easily controlled upland brooks, a mill leat or a mill dam for an overshot wheel would present no great difficulty, and the gradient is steeper than on the main rivers; between Flitwick and Langford the fall is 100 feet, and we have to account for only 6 to 9 mills in this case. In my own upland neighbourhood, the mills which are apparently on D.B. sites, are or were overshot and driven from dammed ponds. But there appears to be no evidence that the Norse mill with horizontal wheel was used in Britain outside the area of purely Norse settlement.

While the number of mills in a vill is sometimes rather surprising, the word *molendinum* or *molinum* seems to have meant the wheel rather than a separate building, machinery and staff, and the explanation is perhaps furnished by a later phrase of 'two mills under one roof' at Leighton Buzzard.^k It would be quite practicable to work an undershot wheel immediately below an overshot one, or two wheels on one axle coupled for greater mechanical efficiency, an arrangement which I have seen frequently on the continent. Where however, as at Stanford, mills were in different ownership, this explanation is improbable.

§ 94. **Fisheries.**—At a period later than D.B., rights of several fishery over stretches of the Ouse and Ivel were a valuable possession, and were returned as part of the estate in Inquisitions post mortem. But it is somewhat remarkable that only one fishery is recorded in D.B., that at Sharnbrook 275, which seems to have been a stew for captured fish (*vivarium piscium*), and not a right of fishery. There is some slight reason to believe that to this fishery was attached a small serjeanty (§ 80), but no further trace of the holding has been as yet noted. It is extremely interesting that, as Mr. J. C. Beall pointed out to me, this stew-pond appears to be still recognisable on the 6 in. and 25 in. Ordnance Map; at any rate, at Sharnbrook and nowhere else on the river appears a kind of dock on the left bank, some 120 feet by 40 feet, which if controlled by a sluice would form an excellent stew-pond.

Apart from this, many of the mills paid dues of eels to the lord, which are returned among manorial profits.^l In some counties the eel-rent was paid in 'stiches' or bundles of twenty five, presumably cured and dry as we see them on the continent to-day. In this county the eels were rendered by tale, the number being generally 100 or some other multiple of 25, but

there are exceptions. There does not seem to be any definite relation between the number of eels due and the height of the mill on the watershed, nor between the numbers due and the money value of the mill.

§ 95. **Park and Vineyard.**—Both of these were privileges of great barons, and are uncommon in D.B.; each is represented by a single example in this country.

i. A 'park of woodland beasts,' that is, of deer, was permitted only by royal licence, and in later documents 'leave to impark' land is an occasional grant. Hugh de Beauchamp had such a park, on the manor afterwards known as Dilwick, in Stagsden 125.^m Exactly 200 years later,ⁿ this park was recorded as containing 140 acres, of which the pasture would be worth 15s. yearly 'if the beasts should be removed,'—a curiously small sum considering the usual value of pasture at that time, which suggests a good deal of timber and brushwood in the park.

ii. A vineyard^o of two acres was held by Eudo dapifer in Eaton Socon 103. The measurement is unusual, as vineyards were generally measured by the arpent of about an acre.

§ 96. **Market.**—Only three markets are mentioned, those of Leighton 2, Luton 4, and Arlesey 97; of these the first two were on royal vills, the third a private market held by Burnard from William de Warenne. As with churches and mills, so also markets are only mentioned by D.B. when they yield revenue to the Crown, and it is probable that Bedford, as a borough (at least incipient), also had a market which escaped geld on the same grounds as did its land. The value of a market lay principally in the toll exacted on all goods sold there; this was estimated at 7 li. yearly in Leighton, and 5 li. in Luton. That at Arlesey is said to be a 'market of 10s.,' but this may represent its value to the Crown and not to the owner; a market being essentially a royal franchise, a yearly rental might well be demanded of the grantee.

§ 97. **Miscellaneous Profits.**—A few additional reddends or rents will be found in §§ 26 and 31. Iron for ploughs, which occurs only twice in Beds., is much more common in some other counties such as Cambridge-shire. The others require no further comment here.

THE TILLERS OF THE SOIL.

§ 98. **Soke and the Socman.**—The status of the socman in 1086 is very obscure. Little is known of it before the Conquest, but medieval lawyers have made fairly clear its later developments. A soke is a seeking of something, a having recourse to something; under mill-soke a tenant must have recourse to the lord's mill in order to grind his own corn; under fold-soke he must gather his sheep in his lord's fold, their manure is not his. It would seem that before the Conquest the socman might be a lordless man, and would then owe soke or suit to his Hundred Court; but certainly later, probably in 1086, a socman always owed soke (suit, seeta) to his lord's court; he must attend the court, hear deeda and bear witness in the pleadings, for certain offences

Eustachius or Eustace. Compare Skeat: *Cambr. Antiq. Soc. Publ.*, xlii, 11. n. Inq. p.m. Ed. I, 46 (1).

o. The Roman and Norman vineyards have been cited as evidence that our climate is now more rigorous than in the past, but I have drunk excellent wine made from grapes of an outdoor vine at Hammersmith Terrace, five miles from Charing Cross.

k. P.R.O., Rentals and Surveys, portf. 1/1, No. 1.

l. An interesting little paper by J. Steele Elliott in the *Zoologist*, 1914, p. 121, records the recent state of the eel fishery at Bedfordshire watermills, and describes the trap which was probably in use in Norman times.

m. Although it is usual to derive the name Stagsden from these deer, the word 'stag' did not find its way into English much before the xvth century. The original form is generally Stachedene, perhaps from Stache =

be tried in the court, and pay his fine to the lord of the court. The legal position of the post-Conquest socman^b is, however, too thorny a handful to be grasped by the present writer, and our D.B. throws no light on it; something will be said (§ 138-141) as to his pre-Conquest condition; at this point it must be enough to say that the few socmen traceable under that description in 1086 are but little above the rank of villans and almost indistinguishable from them; and that the soclands, the lands held by this tenure, had been reduced by the Conquest, in number from 672 to 106, and in fiscal area from 353 hides to 20 hides.

§ 99. **The Villan Tenement.**—To begin with a typical entry:—"The Bishop of Bayeux holds Eaton [Bray]. It answers for twelve hides and one virgate. There is land for twenty teams. In demesne are two hides and there are four teams and might yet be two. The villans have eight teams and there might yet be six." In this county it is never said that the villans 'have' land but the fact is obvious in such an entry; they held, or at least cultivated and had some rights over or in, the land which was not in demesne;—perhaps the fourteen bordars held a little—but they held land assessed at 10h. 1v.; and out of twenty teamlands, they had teams to work eight, and there is still, not in demesne, land for six more teams to work, if they but had them.—Not all entries are so definite as that quoted above; very often the extent of the demesne is not given, but only the number of teams upon it. "William Spech holds in Holcote four hides. . . . There is land for three teams. In demesne is one team and five villans have two teams." Here also it seems a fair inference to say that the villans tilled two-thirds of the cultivated land. We may safely assume that the villan did not keep oxen for pleasure, nor yet purely to plough his lord's land, and that (except perhaps for a few who may have bred oxen for profit), if he had the team, he had the land on which to employ it. If the villans had more land, land not in demesne, than their actual teams could work, D.B. lets us know it, as in the case of Eaton Bray; and we may take it broadly that villans who had five teams held enough land to keep them busy.

We may follow Maitland in the belief that the *caruca*, the plough-team, means a constant number (eight) of oxen, whether it be the lord's team or that of the villans; anything else would convict the planners of D.B. of 'laborious folly.' On the basis that one teamland = 120 acres, the average acreage held by villans in each vill, and the average acreage over all the vills, have been worked out for a large part of D.B. in those cases which state the number of demesne teams. By way of example, the entries from two typical fiefs are printed here, those of Eudo dapifer and Hugh de Beauchamp. Only the teams actually on the land have been reckoned; the possible teams would have led to another complication. The figures show the average acreage and oxen per villan in each holding.

	acres.	oxen.		acres.	oxen.
Eaton Socon 103	37	2.5	Eversholt 140	48	3.2
Wyboston 104	60	4.0	Milton Brian 141	60	4.0
Tempsford 106	120	8.0	Gravenhurst 142	30	2.0
Tempsford 107	39	2.0	Streteley 143	68	4.5
Sandy 108	40	2.6	Higham Gobion 144	60	3.1
Stanford 111	80	5.3	Milton Ernest 147	120	8.0
Beeston 114	30	2.0	Bletsoe 148	51	3.4
Beeston 115	90	6.0	Bromham 150	30	2.0

p. Maitland: D.B., 66—107.

	acres.	oxen.		acres.	oxen.
Clifton 119	33	2.2	Turvey 151	120	8.0
Putnoe 124	60	4.0	Barford, Great 157	40	2.6
Stagaden 125	30	2.0	Barford, Great 158	45	3.0
Chainhulle 126	30	2.0	Coleworth 159	80	5.3
Cardington 131	70	4.6	Barford, Great 160	120	8.0
Willington 132	40	3.0	Barford, Great 161	120	8.0
Stotfold 133	68	4.5	Goldington 162	40	2.6
Hawnes 136	42	2.8	Goldington 163	24	1.6
Aspley 138	60	4.0	Astwick 166 ^a	150	10.0
Salford 139	40	2.6	Cople 170	40	2.6

The enormous discrepancy between the acres per villan on the different holdings will at once strike the reader; on holdings of less than two hides there is often only one villan with a full team and presumably something like 120 acres; on holdings of a higher assessment, the number of villans is usually disproportionately larger and the average acreage generally less.

The average over all the 36 holdings allows 61.4 acres per villan, a remarkable figure as being almost exactly half a teamland. Of course this does not for a moment imply that every villan on these fiefs held 60 acres; for some villans no teams whatever are recorded; the teams assigned to the villans are merely the sum of all the oxen of all the villans in that vill. But our average does at least give us a factor for estimation of the land in villan tenure on such fiefs; if some had less, others had more; so that we may conceive the villan, on the demesne manors of such estates as these, as a work-paying tenant holding up to about 120 acres, generally about 60 acres, probably not less than 20 acres; of this land the bordars may have held a little.—As a part of the villan tenement must be reckoned the oxen, which alone made the land a possible means of livelihood. On the 36 holdings shown above, the average number of oxen per villan was 3.3. Like the average size of the villan tenement, this must not be pressed too far, but at least it argues a widely spread distribution of wealth. It points also to a system of co-operative ploughing, for it seems doubtful whether 3 oxen could till 60 acres, at any rate on heavy land.

But when we come to lesser holdings, where the undertenant or the holding were not important enough for a 'demesne' to be recorded, we have nothing to guide us:—"In Stanford Roger holds one hide of Hugh. There is land for a team and a half and they are there and four villans"; but whose were the oxen, and how the land was apportioned, seem to be indeterminable with certainty, though I believe the oxen to have been on demesne. Did Roger live there and farm himself? or was the land merely given to him for his sustenance as Hugh's soldier, and he made out of it what he could?

§ 100. **The Villan Rent.**—Without entering into controversial detail, it may be said that the political tendency of the Conquest was to increase the dependence of a man upon his lord; the villan of 1086 was more dependent than the small Saxon holder, but his dependence was no new principle introduced by Normans. A villan is merely a man of the vill—we might almost translate him as a villager,—who chiefly pays for the land which he holds, not in coin, but in muscle; he pays a work-rent, perhaps also something in produce, little if anything in hard cash. The work-rent due from him is never recorded in this county; the Exchequer had no concern with that; it called for the number of men and

^a The villans appear to be credited with a team too many, but the text has been followed.

teams, for it was in quest of gold; the lord must collect their share from his villans. But it is apparent from the D.B. of other counties, and from later evidence in this, that the principal work-rent was paid in ploughing, and that the villans used their teams to plough the lord's land as well as their own. From the detailed evidence of other counties, it would seem that the ploughing thus paid was far from being a heavy tax, a view supported by indirect evidence from Bedfordshire. Stotfold 133 supplies a good case, for it was a large manor with an equal number (fifteen) of hides and teamlands, and with a hidated demesne. The demesne of 5 hides may there be put at about $5 \times 120 = 600$ acres; of this, on the two-course system, a half will be fallow, leaving 300 acres to be ploughed. The lord has 3 teams, the villans can put up among them another 12 teams. Now Walter of Henley¹ says (it is perhaps a counsel of perfection) that a team can be made to work 160 or even 180 acres a year; without setting its efficiency so high as this, we can see that 15 teams would not take long to plough 300 acres, and leave the villans ample time to cultivate their own ten hides or twelve teamlands. If any other services for which the villans might be called upon—harrowing, reaping, etc.—were as light as this, their economic position was very comfortable.

§ 101. *The Villan Status.*—To this subject Maitland devotes² an acute though inconclusive study. But if, as few will deny, very different customs of tenure prevailed in England before the Conquest, we can hardly expect to arrive at a uniform villan status in 1086, seeing that in the xiiith century lawyers were still busied in trying to reduce it to one model. For the unfamiliar and divergent customs which they met in their enquiry, the Norman D.B. Commissioners had no vocabulary ready; as a rule the principal dependent tenants were uniformly set down as villani, the men of the vill,—hence our difficulties. Moreover, as Maitland points out, this class of men was necessarily heterogeneous; it was composed principally of the men already on the land when the Norman arrived; and if only the names of the villans had been given in D.B., we could probably identify many of the Saxons of Table VIII—perhaps a few King's thanes, almost certainly thanes and their 'men,' besides the nameless socmen. The slaughter at Hastings was not great, and there is no evidence of a general butchery at the Conquest. Those Saxons who could afford to do so redeemed their land by a payment; some were allowed by the King to keep it as his almsmen, some even to inherit it (§ 109).

That the villan was less free than his Saxon predecessor cannot be denied; we hear no more of men being able to 'give and sell their land' or to 'withdraw to another lord.' On the Norman theory (but we cannot say that it was unknown in England before they came) all land was held 'from' some superior; and the villan could no more sell his land to the lord of the next vill or become his man, than the lord could place himself and his manor in another barony. Yet the villan held his land and his oxen to himself, "and we can hardly

doubt that both in their land and their oxen the villeins have had rights protected by law"; there is evidence that they could not be arbitrarily ejected, they are not tenants at will, but so long as they performed the service due from the land could claim to hold it as of right.—With the complicated question of the lord's justiciary rights over the villan, his 'sake and soke,' our record is not concerned, nor consequently are we. But in this as in other things we shall not err far in regarding the conditions at Domesday as intermediate between the freer Saxon society and the more irksome environment of the xiiijth century (of which so much more is known) and we ought to be very chary of arguing in such matters backwards from 1250 to 1086.—If then the work-rent was light, and the villan's rights in land and cattle were protected, if he lost no more by the Conquest than his power of disposal of his land and his choice of a lord, we need not waste much sympathy over the change from socman to villan.

§ 102. *The Bordar and the Cottar.*—In the D.B. of Bedfordshire there is no mention of the Cotarii, a class fairly numerous in parts of the south and east of England. They occur frequently in Hertfordshire, and the entry of the Herts. portion of Meppershall (d. in the Schedule to Table I) shows 3 villans and 4 cottars as on the land. For the entry of the Beds. portion of Meppershall 281, after setting out the hidage and teamlands of each part separately, D.B. then proceeds to give the sum (inter totum) of the two portions in teamlands demesne men and profits, recording 5 villans, 4 bordars and 2 serfs. There can be little doubt that this equates bordars and cottars so far as our county is concerned, and the most recent students have failed to separate them satisfactorily; that there was a slight distinction is obvious from the fact that both are occasionally recorded in the same entry, as for instance in Cambridgeshire.

§ 103. *The Tenement of Bordar and Serf.*—Scanty as is our knowledge of the villan, it is yet more meagre as to these two classes. In some counties the term villan can be used by D.B. to connote all unfree men, including bordars and serfs; this does not seem to be the practice for Bedfordshire, which usually separates the villan from the other two by the possession of teams.³ As an example of a very common type of entry—"In demesne are two hides and there are two teams and 12 villans have 3 teams. There are 9 bordars and 5 serfs" (Chainhale 126); if the uniform marshalling of words has any value, this means that on that holding the villans have teams and the bordars and the serfs have none. Contrasted with such entries are a few which assign a share in the teams to bordars and to serfs; these have been set out below in tabular form, arranged according to their combinations,—firstly bordars alone, then bordars and serfs, next villans and bordars, lastly villans, bordars and serfs; the teams which they can muster between them are shown in the last column.

1. Part of Stotfold was still farmed on the two-course system (alternate crop and fallow) as late as 1808 (Batchelor: *Agriculture of the County of Bedford*, 339).

2. *R. Hist. Soc.*, p. 9.

3. Maitland, *D.B.*, 38–66.

4. The only possible case of the widest use of the term is Dean 36: "In dominio sunt ij caruce et villani habent j carucam et dimidiam. Ibi

vii bordarii et ij serui." The want of articles in Latin makes this of doubtful meaning, but I think that anyone acquainted with the phrasing of the Beds. D.B. will infer that the number of villans has been accidentally omitted. The identical phrasing but with the number supplied may be read in Shillington 58 among many other cases.

5. Serfs are recorded on the holding, but excluded from the record of teams, in entries 82, 331, 332, 339, 340 cited in this table.

	Villans	Bordars	Serfs	Teams
Thurleigh 241 ...	...	...	4	...
Sutton 319 ...	...	...	4	...
Stondon 346 ...	...	...	3	...
Sutton 365 ...	...	...	3	...
Turvey 235 ...	...	...	8	1
Stratton 81 ...	...	...	5	...
Cudsand 82 ...	...	...	3	...
Campton 280 ...	...	...	2	...
Houghton Conquest 331	11	7	...	3½
Charlton 332 ...	16	9	...	5
Hockliffe 335 ...	13	11	...	6
Hailey 339 ...	8	4	...	6
Stanford 340 ...	2	1	...	1
Wyminton 232 ...	1	6	3	2
Wyminton 238 ...	1	8	4	1
Langford 245 ...	12	7	5	9
Silsoe 250 ...	6	8	4	7
Hinwick 252 ...	1	4	3	1
Staughton 254 ...	4	1	1	2
Totals ...	79	97	21	51½

It will be noticed that the 14 bordars of the first four entries average 2 oxen apiece; we may attribute this to their being the only men on the holding, but it seems certain that so high a number is unusual; they are generally excluded from possession of oxen in the record.

Confining our attention purely to these 19 cases and admitting them to be exceptional, it is yet of interest to note that by allowing on an average 3 oxen to a villan (§ 99), 2 to a bordar, and 1 to a serf, we get a total of 452 oxen, the actual number in the 51½ teams being 412; the estimated number is only 10 per cent. wrong, and a fair approximation. Taking another point of view and regarding the teams as implying the corresponding teamlands, it is the case that on an allowance of half a hide to each villan (§ 99), half a virgate to each bordar, and a quarter virgate to each serf, we arrive at a total of 6247 acres, while the actual number of teams multiplied by 120 is 6180 acres, and the error here is only 1 per cent. But the average bordar of the first four entries would have a whole virgate, which shows (if it needed to be shown) that too much stress must not be laid on the result of such computations. Taken broadly as they should be taken, they show that we can contemplate a bordar as having on occasions something like 15-30 acres and 2 oxen, and a serf yet more rarely as having at least one ox and a quarter of a virgate. This tallies with more direct statements from the D.B. of some other counties.

§ 104. Status of Bordar and Serf.—That the villan was economically above the bordar, that villan and bordar were both legally and economically higher than the serf, and that in 1086 none of the three were regarded as completely 'free' men, are almost the only points of certainty about them. Before we can see them fairly, our usual associations with the words 'villan' and 'serf' must be ruthlessly discarded. The ordinary history book tends to draw the villan as a scarcely human chattel, liable to almost limitless oppression at his lord's land; a 'serf' suggests to most of us "Uncle Tom's Cabin." It would make for clear thinking if the three classes were styled 1st. 2nd. and 3rd. Villager like the members of a stage chorus. The villan was merely the typical villager of the better class; the bordar, a

smaller man who held a borde or cot and cot land (cotage and allotment); the serf was certainly not a slave in any modern sense of the word, and though we cannot find a good name for him, we may almost call him a 'labourer' or even 'farm-servant.'

As to the legal status of both villan and bordar, the 'unfreedom' of their tenure may fairly be regarded as largely the invention of xijth century lawyers. When the compiler of the "Laws of Henry I" attempted about 1118* to set down what he knew of the law of Edward the Confessor and its post-Conquest amendment, he regarded everyone who was below a thane and above a serf as a villan, as a free man with a wergild of 200 shillings to be paid to his kindred on his murder. This would include the villans, hordars, cottars and boors of 1086, but in one respect they had ceased to be free, they were no longer free to dispose of their land, and were therefore in practice tied to their holdings; "Men may become so economically dependent on their lords that the legal question whether they can quit their service has no interest. Who wishes to leave his all and go forth a beggar into the world?" to leave house, holding and stock, with the sole option of becoming a hired labourer to some other lord? For it is clear from D.B. that the bordar had a holding; in this county he might, in neighbouring counties he generally did, have his own oxen; nor, so far as we can see, could his tenure be terminated so long as the services due for rent were rightly paid. Of the duties of the bordar we shall learn something from his Saxon forerunner, the cotsetla (§ 148). The difference between villan and bordar seems to have been chiefly economic, they held by somewhat different tenures; the villan had the larger holding and more wealth in oxen; he paid his work-rent mainly in ploughing, the bordar paid his in more miscellaneous services.

But the serf of D.B. is on a different plane. As to his status and his duties the record as a whole is nearly, and in this county is absolutely, silent. His services (that is, he) can be sold by one lord to another; the market exacts toll on his sale, as it does on cattle sales. But as we have seen (§ 103) he might have a share in the teams, and in such a case must have had a little land; he might be working for himself as well as for his lord. After the xijth century the serf seems gradually to disappear, and as a rule only villans of a status increasingly unfree can be seen. Therefore in order to learn something of the D.B. serf, we must look at his predecessor, the Saxon theow (§ 149) in the light of a recent Conquest. On the whole, the evidence does not point to more than a rather stern labour-contract, between the man who has lost everything or was born to nothing, and the lord who finds for him bread and shelter in return for work.

§ 105. Distribution of Serfs.—When plotted on a map, the serfs are seen to be fairly evenly distributed over the county; few vills have no serfs. The only noteworthy exception seems to be the Ancient Demesne: Luton has but three, Leighton two, and Houghton Regis none. But elsewhere a close connection is noticeable between serfs and demesne; in order to show this, the first 150 entries which follow the Royal lands have been analysed; out of these

on 72 holdings (nearly half) there are teams in demesne, and 63 (87 per cent.) of them carry serfs;

w. *Leges Henrici* in Schmid: *die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 69 §2, 70 §1, 76 §2; Stubbs: *Lectures on Early English History*, 144, 145.

x. Maitland: *D.B.*, 51.

on 75 holdings (exactly half) there are serfs, and 63 (84 per cent.) of them are holdings with demesne teams; of 246 serfs recorded in the 150 entries, all except 20 (8 per cent.) are on holdings with demesne teams; and many of the 20 are so placed that they could have served the same lord's demesne on an adjacent holding.

This intimate relation between serfs and demesne supports the conclusion which will be drawn later (§ 149) as to the Saxon theow; they were the demesne labourers.

MISCELLANEOUS MEN.

§ 106. *Officers of the Royal Household.*—Of these are mentioned

(1) the Staller, an Old English style for the Steward of the Household. We have only references (Biscot 9, Streatley 364) to Asgar the Staller and Bondi or Bundi the Staller; the latter passed from the service of Edward and Harold to that of William¹; he has been suggested above as a possible Sheriff of this county (§ 76):

(2) the Dapifer (in England) or Seneschal (in Normandy), the Norman name for the Staller. Eudo dapifer is familiar as a Tenant in Chief of importance (103-109):

(3) the Camerarius or Chamberlain. It would seem that, in D.B. as later, more than one officer bore this title. There was a 'Chamberlain of England' who does not appear in our D.B. His duties, which seem originally to have been largely those of a royal Treasurer, demanded deputies and assistants, some at least of whom were clergy. Of these we have two—Turstin chamberlain (277-280) and William chamberlain (5, 263-265):

(4) the Pincerna or Butler. Hugh de Ivri had been Duke William's Butler in the Norman household, and held a little land in this county (254, 255).

For the King's serjeants, see § 80.

§ 107. *Lesser Officials.*—These seem to have been rewarded by small grants of land, probably only for life or during tenure of office; they are found in that last section of D.B. which is (partly) headed 'Land of the King's Reeves and Almsmen,' and cited in this memoir as the 'King's Service' (ministerium Regis). They are as follows:—

(1) the prebendarius (355). His function seems to have been the purchasing of provisions.

(2) the prefectus Regis or King's Reeve (356, 358-362, 380). If his duties resembled those of the reeve of a manor, he would be occupied in general supervision of the royal demesne.

(3) the prefectus de hundredo (364), the Reeve of the Hundred. His land 'lay to' Luton; this fact and his royal office seem to fit in with the suggestion (§ 47) that the ancient demesne in the south of the county once ranked as a Hundred.

(4) the equarius regis, or groom of the royal stud (357).

(5) the bedellus or beadle (377), whose function is obscure. There seem to have been corresponding officials T.R.E., whatever their Saxon title may have been (362).

y. The same titles occur in the households of magnates; thus we have Hugh de Grentmesnil's dapifer (Milton Ernest 333), and the Bishop of Bayeux's camerarius (Totterhoe 265).

z. Regesta i, p. xxii.

(6) the prepositus burgi, the Reeve of the Burgh (48), the fore-runner of the Mayor of Bedford, may fairly be counted among these officials.

§ 108. *Milites and Frenchmen.*—The term 'miles' is used in D.B. for at least two very different classes of men, if we may judge from their estates; (a) for a warrior of high degree, such as Hamo the Sheriff and the Count of Eu, who were milites of the Archbishop of Canterbury; in such a case it may fairly be translated as 'knight,' nor is the 'service of a knight's fee,' a phrase later so familiar, unknown to Domesday²; (b) in our county however the word is used for a fighting retainer of the Baron, presumably a 'Frenchman,' that is, a Norman. The instances are

Yielden 22. There are 17 villans and 1 miles and 12 bordars and 1 serf (under the Bishop of Coutances).

Sundon 92. In the same vill 1 miles has 1 team (under William de Ow).

Edworth 95. Two milites hold from William de Ow 7 hides and 3 virgates and a half.

Oakley 225. Two milites hold of Robert [de Todeni] 4 hides.

Turvey 226. Two milites hold of Robert [de Todeni] 2 hides and 1 virgate.

Sharnbrook 275. Ralf Taillgebose . . . took that land [1½ virgate] and gave it to a certain man his miles.³

Even here we seem to trace grades of rank. The man at Yielden who is ranked between villans and bordars, or the man at Sundon who had one team, are surely of another class than the men at Edworth, Oakley and Turvey who were true undertenants with comfortable estates; Edworth at least was a manor; the military service which these men owed was probably that of an "ordinary horseman in the ranks of the heavy cavalry," as Dr. Morris says. Such service could hardly have been expected from a man whose holding was that of a villan; and in one case elsewhere in D.B. soldarius (=solidarius from the shilling of his pay=soldier) is used as a synonym for miles. We must conclude that the term miles was used by our scribe rather loosely, meaning not much more than a Norman fighting man.

'Frenchmen' (francigena, francus) also probably meant nothing more than Normans whose names the scribe did not know. They occur only as undertenants in Riseley 25 and Southill 219. Freeman⁴ remarks that in D.B. "the word Norman is nowhere found." Yet Normannus in Beeston 115 and Cople 173 is not likely to have been a personal name (though it may have become one), any more than an undertenant Francus would be known as—Freeman! In the Beeston case there can be little doubt, for the man had held there T.R.E., and would naturally be known as 'the Norman' among the Saxons.

§ 109. *Englishmen and Almsmen.*—Of 'Englishmen' (anglus, anglicus), six held in Riseley, 25 as undertenants jointly with two Frenchmen, and were possibly the six socmen who had held four hides there T.R.E.; this would leave two hides for the two Frenchmen. In two other cases (Sharnbrook 31, Stagsden 70), Englishmen are undertenants, and their names recorded.

a. D.B. (R.C.), i, 32: Ditton.

b. This was perhaps Osbern de Broilg's holding from Hugh de Beauchamp in Sharnbrook 152. Dr. Morris has also drawn attention to the coincidence (B.H.R.S., v, 5).

c. Freeman, N.C., v, 766.

But there is no doubt that many Saxons were allowed to hold land after the Conquest—of course, at a price; such an opportunity of raising money was valuable^d;—and some who had but scraps of land seem to have held by compassion as the King's Almsmen. The following cases of continuous tenure have been noted: the hidage being T.R.W.

	h. v.	
Astwick 168	0 2	Ledmar, m. of F. Tosti.
Beeston 115	4 0	Norman (7 h., T.R.E.)
Beeston 353	0 3	Godmund.
Biddenham 347	0 1	Osgar de Bedeford.
Biddenham 348	1 0½	Godwin the hurgess (o h. 2 v., T.R.E.).
Biddenham 349	1 0½	Ordwi the burgess (o h. 2½ v., T.R.E.).
Biddenham 350	0 0½	Ulmur the burgess.
Bolnhurst 14	0 2	two socmen.
Bromham 378	0 1½	Osiel.
Carlton 16	1 1	two socmen.
Carlton 366	0 3½	Chelbert, m. of Qu. Edith.
Clifton 57	1 0	Lewin, ten. of Abb. of Ramsey.
Dean 84	2 0	three socmen.
Dean 373	1 3½	eleven socmen.
Dean 374	0 0½	Godwin Dere of Bedeford.
Eyworth 338	1 0	Brodo.
Goldington 368	0 2	Alric Wintremelc.
Hanefeld 375	0 1	Saiei, of the King's soke.
Henlow 354	0 1	Alric.
Hinwick 351	0 2	Edward, succeeded his father.
Milton Ernest 99a	0 0½	? two socmen.
Milton Ernest 377	0 0½	a bedell, succeeded his father.
Sharnbrook 352	0 0½	Almar, succeeded his father.
Stanford 369	0 0½	Alric.
Stanford 370	? 7½	Ordul, m. of Kg. Edward.
Staughton 24	0 3	four socmen, m. of Burgred.
Staughton 37	0 2	father of Will. de Caron.
Staughton 88	1 1	Avigi.
Stodden		
Hund. 376	0 2	Turgot and mother, succeeded his father.
Sutton 316	0 2	Levegar m. of Kg. Edward.
Sutton 321	0 2	Ederic, m. of Kg. Edward.
Sutton 365	1 0	Alwin (o h. 3 v., T.R.E.).
Thurleigh 100	0 1	Leuric, m. of Brihtric.
Tillbrook 85	5 0	twenty socmen.
Turvey 379	0 0½	Alwin priest.
Westcotts 372	0 1	Ordul, m. of Kg. Edward.
Wyminton 367	0 3	5 bros. and m., succeeded f. Lant.
Wyminton 381	1 0	Turchull.

Besides these, there are a few socmen T.R.W. who may be the same socmen as held T.R.E.; in several cases their number is the same under both kings. They will be found in Table IX, column iv, marked with an asterisk.

Lastly, two tenants in chief had continuous tenure across the Conquest, Albert of Lorraine (Chalgrave 283), and Ernuin priest (Harrowden 67); the latter had succeeded his father, a man of King Edward, but without royal authorisation.

At the outside we can only find a pitiful 69 hides—less than 6 per cent. of the county—in undisturbed possession since pre-Conquest days. The spoils in deed fell to the victors.

POPULATION.

§ 110. *The Numbers of Men.*—No exact census is possible. We are not aware how many of the 54 Tenants in Chief were actually resident; we can only say that, in all probability, some were usually, some occasionally, some never, to be found in the County. We have no information as to the number of Burgesses, Canons, villans, etc., in Bedford itself; nothing is told us of the country priests. With the undertenants and men in the King's Service there is uncertainty in identifying men of the same name. Only with the villans, bordars and serfs are we on fairly firm ground, but even they may have been returned more than once in adjacent villis under one lord.

d. "They paid him [William] geld . . . and then bought their lands." (A. S. Chron. R.S. 23, i, 337). "When the English redeemed their lands." (D.B., R.C., ii, 360).

e. Round: Domesday Studies, 77-142.

Bearing this uncertainty in mind, we arrive at the following approximate figures for adult males:—

Tenants in chief	...	54	1.4 p.c.
Undertenants	...	200	5.4 p.c.
Villans	...	1850	49.7 p.c.
Bordars	...	1145	30.7 p.c.
Serfs	...	474	12.7 p.c.
Total	...	3723	99.9 p.c.

a little below Ellis' count of 3875, and Airy's of 3891, which seem to be numbers of tenancies rather than of tenants. The undertenants are counted from Table VII, omitting T. in C. and religious houses, including 'Englishmen', 'Frenchmen' milites and socmen.

It would not be safe to deduce a total population of men, women and children from these figures, but they are of interest as showing the proportions borne by various classes of men to one another; these proportions are probably more accurate than the absolute numbers, and seem to indicate that not more than 5 or 6 per cent. were of Norman blood.

PAYMENTS AND VALUES.

§ 111. *The Danegeld.*—This tax, which may fairly be regarded as the immediate cause of the Great Survey, was at first a tribute paid to the marauding Danes, blackmail to avert invasion. About 1012 it assumed rather the character of a wage, paid to Thorkill with five and forty Danish ships who should protect the feeble shores of England from hungry pirates; about 1051-1054 the successors of these mercenaries were paid off and the tax abolished. But the Conqueror raised a Danegeld in the year that he was crowned, and another in the following year, both apparently at the old rate of 2s. on the hide. In 1084 it was levied at the rate of 6s. on the hide, in 1096 at 4s. on the hide, but from then until it disappears from the Rolls in 1163 it seems to have been raised on the old rate, and, apparently from 1130 onwards, annually not intermittently. The royal manors were exempt, otherwise this tax seems as a rule to have been paid by all ranks, the tenant in chief being ultimately responsible for producing the money and raising their proportion from the villans, presumably through the manor of the undertenant. It has been suggested that tenants in chief were excused the Danegeld of 1084, but many features of this particular levy are still a puzzle; Ramsay^e suggests that it was raised to resist an invasion threatened by a coalition of Norway, Denmark and Flanders; William, forewarned, raised a strong army of foreign mercenaries whom he billeted on the magnates ("much toil had men that year"), and laid waste the coast at likely landing places; but the raid was never attempted.

§ 112. *Yield of the Danegeld.*—We can see approximately the fiscal result of the Domesday Survey in the Danegeld as it appears in the Pipe Roll of 1130. At the ordinary rate of 2s. on the hide, the 1210 hides of this county should have yielded 121 li. to the royal exchequer. But it is obvious, and not from D.B. alone, that many monasteries and some men were assessed at far less than their real hidage, and the actual yield must

f. In the Charter of Liberties (1101) Henry I. undertook that lands performing military service should be free from all gelds (Stubbs: Select Charters, p. 98, no. 11); but, like many royal promises, this was not kept.
g. Ramsay: Foundations of England, ii, 126-128.

often have disappointed a zealous official. In 1130 only 110 li. 12s. is accounted for by the Sheriff, but much less was actually received, because many men were 'pardoned by the King's writ.'

	li.	s.	d.	li.	s.	d.
Paid into the Treasury ...	76	8	9			
Due from the Sheriff ...	3	14	6			
				80	3	3
Pardoned on the King's writ ^b ...				30	8	9
	110	12	0			

so that the Exchequer in 1130 only received about 65 per cent. or two-thirds of what the county hidage should have yielded, and it may be doubted whether King William got even so much.

§ 113. **Coinage.**—The Conquest made no difference to the English coinage, for William, like his immediate predecessors, minted only the silver penny containing twenty grains Tower of silver; broken along the cross, its pieces served as half pennies and farthings. The coins were struck by moneyers from dies supplied by the Exchequer; they worked in numerous towns. Our record, so uncommunicative as to Bedford, does not mention a mint there. Yet there undoubtedly was one, for coins of William I exist, struck by the moneyers Sibrand and Saegod (Sigod) at Bedeford. Sigod minted also under William Rufus at Bedford, as did also Lifwi (Leofwine) and Godric.¹

In addition to the minted penny, the Normans used higher values, simply as moneys of account for which no coins were struck:—the shilling of 12 pennies, the ounce or ore (Carlton 366) of 20 pennies, the mark of 160 pennies or 8 ores or 13s. 4d., and the pound (weight) of 240 pennies or 12 ores or 20 shillings. Both ore and mark had been increased by a third at the Conquest. Gold passed by weight only, a mark of gold being taken as equal to six pounds of silver, in the ratio 9:1.

§ 114. **Payment in bullion.**—The value of the pennies tendered for Danegeld was naturally liable to have been reduced by wear and by tarnish, and the Exchequer might thus easily lose a considerable sum on a large payment by number or tale. We find therefore that during the first century after the Conquest payments were made by one or other of the following methods:—

- by tale (numero, ad numerum), any 240 pennies being taken as equal to a pound;
- by weight (ad pensum), when the full pound weight was required, irrespective of the number of pennies;
- by assay, the silver being blanched (blanco, de albo argento); in this method a sample of the bullion was assayed by fire, and the debtor must make good any deficiency in value shown by the assay;
- by rate (ad scalam), when, instead of having the bullion weighed or assayed, the debtor paid an extra six or twelve pennies in the pound.

Payments by weight and in blanch silver are mentioned on the Ancient Domesne (2, 4, 5).

The Queen's Gold, which is also recorded under the same three manors (2, 4, 6), formed the revenue of

the Queen Consort, and at a later date was taken as one tenth of any fine or offering to the King, to which it was supplemental. This revenue was enjoyed by all Queens Consort till the death of Henry VIII. To the Sheriff's gold, reference has already been made (§ 76).

§ 115. **Payment in kind.**—This appears in our record as due only from the Ancient Domesne; it is the King's feorm, and descends from that remote past when the royal household was fed by the produce of the royal manors. In some counties the payment in kind had already been commuted for a payment in money, even before 1066; but Leighton, Luton and Houghton still apparently rendered yearly, in grain, honey and other customary matters, a half-day's farm-rent, enough theoretically to maintain the royal household for half a day.

§ 116. **Farm of the Ancient Domesne.**—The Sheriff administered officially the royal manors, paid a fixed farm-rent in cash and kind to the Exchequer, and made what he could on the transaction. In the following attempt to show their cash value to the Crown, the difference in value between payments by weight and by assay has been neglected.

	LEIGHTON (52 teamlands)			LUTON (82 teamlands)			HOUGHTON (22 teamlands)		
	li.	s.	d.	li.	s.	d.	li.	s.	d.
Sheriff owes									
for the Manor, etc.	22	0	0	30	0	0	10	0	0
„ Queen's Gold	1	10	0	3	0	0	1	10	0
„ Sumter-horse, etc.	3	10	0	3	10	0	3	5	0
„ King's hounds' [? omitted]				6	10	0	3	5	0
„ Increment	7	0	0	9	0	0	4	0	0
Due to the Crown	34	0	0	52	0	0	22	0	0
Sheriff receives	15	0		15	0		15	0	

If the Sheriff compounded for the depreciation of the coinage in 1086 as a later Exchequer would have required, the totals due to the Crown for the three manors would be approximately: Leighton, 55 li. 9s.; Luton, 53li. 19s.; Houghton Regis, 22li. 14s.

In order to arrive at the total value to the Crown, the worth of the half-day's feorm should be added, but can hardly be estimated; the amount at which it was compounded is recorded in some counties, but cannot necessarily be applied to Bedfordshire.

§ 117. **Geldum, Warra and Gablum.**—These seem to be Saxon terms latinised by the Normans. The geld being the money paid as Dane-geld, the Warra (Wara) appears to mean the liability for payment, place of payment, or act of payment. It appears in our record only four times*:—

86. [Hanefelde] iacuit semper in Chenebaltone sed Warram dedit semper iuste in Bedefordscira.
- 99a. In Middeltone habuerunt ij sochemanni xvj acras terre et suam Warram in eadem Middeltone decerunt.
108. Set Radulfus quando erat uicecomes eum desai-siuit ideoque Eudo noluit dare Warras de eadem silua [in Sandeic].
- e. [Westone] iacuit et iacet in Hiz set wara huius manerii iacuit in Bedefordscira T.R.E.

^b. Using the Record Commission's edition of this Roll, I can only make this sum jolii. os. qd.

ⁱ. Brit. Mus. Cat. Eng. Coins, Norman Kings, ii.

^j. Reference to Table I, col. xxiii, will show that a liberty has been taken with the text in the matter of Leighton's payment to the King's hounds.
^k. Translated in Table I, col. xxiii.

In 99a and 108 the word *geldum* might almost have been substituted.

Gablum (the Saxon *gafol*) on the other hand is a rent due to the lord, whether he be King or subject. It occurs but twice in this county^k :—

233. [In Totenehou] *homines qui v hidas tenuerunt et tenent omnes consuetudines regis et gablum retinuerunt et retinent.*

275. [In Sernebroc] *ille gablum de hac terra dare noluit et Radulfus Taillebose gablum dedit.*

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE VALETS.

§ 118. *The Ravagé of War.*—It follows from Total A of Table III, cols. xvii and xviii, that the value of the lands as a whole had been depreciated by only one third or 33 per cent. of their T.R.E. value. This figure is remarkably small, and shows how little real disturbance in the life of the countryside was caused by the Conquest in this part of England^l; the tiller of the soil changed his lord, and lost something of his independence, yet in other respects the tenour of his daily life seems to have been unbroken. But if we turn to col. xix of Table II, which shows the depreciation of the separate vills after the Conquest, it becomes clear that while some were worth when received as much as, or even (perhaps owing to addition of land from a neighbouring vill) more than their value T.R.E., others had suffered very heavily, and had dropped to less than half of their previous value.

§ 119. *The Invasion of Bedfordshire.*—In the interesting 'Domesday Tables' of Mr. F. H. Baring is included an essay on the march of William the Conqueror from Hastings to London. On the reasonable assumption that the depreciation in value of manors when received (Q.R.), as compared with their valet T.R.E., is due to devastation caused by William's army, he uses it to trace the path of the Norman columns which approached London from the north. Mr. Baring seems to have utilised only the manors, and their depreciation as shown by the actual figures of the valets. Greater accuracy and surer inference seem likely to be attained (a) by the use of the summed values of every holding in a vill (thus obtaining the total depreciation of that vill), and (b) by employing percentage values instead of absolute valets; both these have been applied to the preparation of Map VIII.

On this, the percentage ratio which the total Q.R. valet of the vill bears to the total of the T.R.E. valet (taken from Table II, column xix) was set against each vill; and contour lines were then swept round those vills in the centre and south of the county of which the value was 55 per cent. or less of their original value before the Conquest. The results of the method amply confirmed Mr. Baring's general principle, but led to conclusions rather different in detail from those which he reached, and indicate that the Royal Manors and the Burgh were the chief objective of the army in this county. When this had been done, the same method was applied to the D.B. records of neighbouring counties through which the forces must pass on their route through Bedfordshire towards London, and their results (which are intended to form the subject of a separate paper) seem to fall into line with those deduced for this county, and bring the

columns ultimately to the known point at which the submission of the Londoners was received.

The devastation by the army was not necessarily calculated and deliberate; the country was by no means "ruthlessly laid waste" as historians are apt to say. The statement that William's plan was "to isolate and starve out the city by a wide belt of desolation" (as one historian writes) is neither consonant with the facts of the case, nor consistent with a rational policy. A Conqueror who designs to stay does not wantonly ruin the land which will shortly be his own. But there was no Commissariat, and the army had to find its daily food in the seed-corn and plough-oxen of the nearest vill. Lands through which it merely marched by day would suffer, either not at all or not so much as those on which it was billeted at night; and along roads it would travel much more rapidly than when marching across country; these account for occasional rises of percentage along its supposed route. It is not contended that every reduction to half-value need necessarily have been due to William's army; fire, or murrain, or in the north of the county Morkere's raid from Northampton to Oxford in 1065, may account for outlying cases. But the fact that all the instances of a 55 per cent. reduction easily fall into definite lines, leading to rational objectives (the royal manors and boroughs) goes far to prove the correctness of the explanation suggested.

§ 120. *Routes of the Columns.*—A study of all the facts and figures available for this and six adjacent counties suggests the following account, which can be followed for this County on Map VIII.

At Crowmarsh opposite Wallingford, where he crossed the Thames, the Conqueror (according to William of Jumièges) formed a fortified camp; he occupied the area between the Thame, the Thames, and the Icknield Way, while the forces concentrated. When the great advance began, the main body followed the Icknield Way to Harold's manor of Risborough and the royal manor of Wendover, while the desolate and wooded region of the Chiltern Hills sufficiently guarded the right flank. At this point there was no physical feature to prevent a direct advance on London, but the army must command the quarter from which attack might be expected, that is to say, the North. The Earls Eadwine and Morkere had taken no part in the battle of Hastings, but had withdrawn northward with their forces; their attitude to the Conqueror was still undetermined. Morkere might come down the Ermin Street with the Northumbrians, Eadwine down the Watling Street with the Mercians, as both had done the year before; and the Conqueror took his measures accordingly. The baggage proceeded by the Icknield Way to Luton, covered by a flanking column from Pitstone on the now exposed southern flank; this halted at the heads of the Gade and Bulborne valleys as the baggage moved (Studham and Caddington). The main body struck north, securing the royal manor of Aylesbury; then east in two divisions to the valuable group of royal manors, Leighton, Houghton Regis, and Luton; the Watling Street was thus held, with an outpost at Potsgrove; the army seems to have entered Bedfordshire by the ford at Linslade, and by either the Yttingaford or that at Whaddon in Slapton. From Luton the baggage proceeded later towards Hertford; the main body again turned north, seizing Harold's

k. Translated in Table I, col. xxiii.

l. Only those who have seen the tumbled heaps of shattered rubble,

which seven years ago were happy French villages, can appreciate the Conqueror's restraint and foresight, and the discipline of his men.

manor of Westoning; the right wing then wheeled east, crossing the River Ivel at the Long Ford (Langford), and shortly afterwards wheeled south on Hertford; while the left wing continued on to Bedford, thence along the drier ground on the left bank of the Ouse; after crossing the river, at Little Barford and perhaps Eaton Ford, it also wheeled southwards on Hertford, while a flying column planted an outpost on the Ermin Street at Papworth, and a detachment seized Earl Walthoef's manor of Potton. At the beginning of the advance a flying column had been despatched to seize the royal burgh of Buckingham and guard the left flank. Riding eastward, it established an outer post on the Watling Street, entered Bedfordshire from Wavendon, and slackened its pace or halted till joined by the left wing for the advance on Bedford.

In the preceding year Northamptonshire and the neighbouring shires had been deliberately devastated by a typical Danish raid of the Northumbrians in revolt against Earl Tostig, joined by the Danes of Lincs. Derbs. and Mercia. Consequently it is hardly possible to say whether a few depreciations in the north of Bedfordshire are due to the Danes or to the Normans; these are tentatively connected by arrows, as if the line Laven-don-Sharnbrook and Radwell-Bolnhurst-Kimbolton had been traversed by a flying column of Normans; and Farndish and Hinwick had been devastated by the Danes; but there is no certainty in the matter.

§ 121. *The Recovery*.—A comparison of Total A in columns xvi, xvii and xviii of Table III shows the very gradual recovery in values which followed on the pacification of the country. While the total value of all lands in the Hundreds in 1086 had risen by 15 per cent. over the Q.R. valet, it was still 23 per cent. below the T.R.E. valet. Some would seek the cause of this in Norman misrule and oppression. History does not however show that this county, like Yorkshire, Somerset and Herefordshire, ever suffered for a share in those later risings against the Conqueror which were punished by a deliberate and systematic devastation. It seems more likely that the loss of seed-corn and of the plough-oxen at the Invasion, and a series of bad harvests coupled with heavy taxation, retarded the return of prosperity; such failures of harvest, resulting in famines, are chronicled for the years 1071 and 1082.

TITLE TO LAND

§ 122. *Royal Grants*.—As already said, few documents which may be described as personal title-deeds have come down from Norman time; they are writs, addressed as a rule to the Sheriff and (or) other magnates of the shire, notifying that the King has granted (concessit) such lands to so-and-so.^m As a formal and public 'livery of seisin,' duly witnessed, was of first importance for quiet possession, it would be the Sheriff's duty to send some one or to act himself as 'liberator,'ⁿ that is, to deliver or give livery of seisin of the land, in the presence of the Hundred Court or other voucher (aduocatus) for the goodness of the recipient's title. The following cases seem to refer to these proceedings; sometimes one step only is mentioned, sometimes more.^o

^m. For some personal grants, see Regesta i, nos. 9, 10, 84, 210, 226.

ⁿ. One 'authority' on D.B., dealing with men's employments, writes "Of the Liberatores not much is known"!! The voucher seems to have been the witness to the formal act of the liberator; "huius rei fuerunt testes et

Caddington 64	...	Canonici habent breue regis in quo habetur quod ipse hoc manerium dedit.
Harrowden 67	...	De hac terra non habet iste liberatorem nec breue sed occupauit super regem.
Dean 84	...	Fuit Willelmus Spec saisitus per regem et eius liberatorem sed W. de Warennia sine breue regis eum desaisiuit.
Tillbrook 85	...	Radulfus Taillebose . . . de ea per regem saisitus fuit.
Thurleigh 228	...	Cuius terras omnes Willelmus rex sibi donauit.
Biddenham 348	...	Reclamat Willelmus Spech [terram] que sibi liberata fuit et postea perdidit.
Hinwick, 351	...	Hanc rex Willelmus in elemosina eidem concessit unde et breue regis habet et testimonium de hundredo.
Sharnbrook, 352	...	Rex. W. ei per breue suum reddidit.
Eversholt, etc. 356	...	Dicit se eas habuisse per concessionem regis.
Nos. 385-363.	...	Qui eas nunc habent concessione regis tenent ac dicunt.
Carlton 366	...	[Terras] occupauit unde nec liberatorem nec aduocatum inuenit.

A special form of royal gift to an undertenant was by commendation:—

Staughton 88.	...	Hanc ei postea Willelmus rex concessit et per suum breue Radulfo Taillebose commendauit ut eum seruaret quamdiu uiueret.
Wiley Hund. 380.	...	Quem rex Willelmus cum terra hac predicto prefato commendauit ut quamdiu uiueret victum et uestimentum ei preberet.

These were perhaps disabled soldiers, judged by a parallel case which is recorded in detail.^p

§ 123. *Other forms of title*.—Land could be transferred in several ways, remaining of course subject to the service towards the overlord (348, 349), and needing formal livery of seisin (348). Land is recorded as passing

- a. by partial gift during life, to become absolute at death; later a common way of endowing religious houses, while retaining a life annuity:

Goldington 368.	Quam postea Canonicis Sancti Pauli sub Willelmo rege dedit et ut post mortem suam haberent omnino concessit.
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- b. by deathbed gift; almost what would be called later a nuncupative testament:

Biddenham 65.	Qui presbyter moriens concessit ecclesie Sancti Pauli unam uirgam de hac terra.
Staughton 88.	Hic die quo mortuus est dixit se esse hominem Willelmi de Warenne et ideo Willelmus saisitus est de hac terra.
- c. by gift in alms:

Wilshamstead 296.	Judita comitissa dedit sancte Marie de Elneston in elemosina.
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- d. by purchase:

Biddenham 348.	[Terram] emit postquam rex Willelmus in Anglia uenit . . . nec de ea liberatorem habuit.
Biddenham 349.	Idem ipse emit [terram] post quam rex Willelmus in Anglia uenit.
- e. by mortgage; a temporary title, for the land could be redeemed:

Southill 247.	Hanc terram tenuit Leuinus teignus regis in uadimonio T.R.E. sed postquam rex Willelmus uenit in Anglia ille ipse qui inuadiuit hanc terram redemit. Unam uirgam uero in uadimonio tenuit et modo tenet.
Biddenham 349.	
- f. by marriage portion:

Streathley 196.	De ista terra tenet Piroi iij hidas de maritagio sue femine.
338-341, 345.	De maritagio [Azeline Taillebose.]
- g. by dower; presumably a life interest.

Henlow 342.	Nec eius dotem unquam fuisse.
Chicksand 344	De dote sua.
- h. by exchange:

for Bleadon, co. Soms.	for Ware, co. Herts.
Bolnhurst 26.	Goldington 128.
Wiley Hund. 28.	Salpho 137.
Turvey 29.	Goldington 162.
for Toddington, co. Beds.	Goldington 163.
Holcote 209.	Goldington 164.
Biddenham 212.	Cople 176.

liberatores" (Cal. Doc. France, no. 423, p. 142).

^o. These citations are translated in Table I, col. xxiii.

^p. Hist. Abington, R.S.2, ii, 6.

These transactions seem to have been incompletely recorded. Bleadon had been granted by Gytha (Goda), wife of Earl Godwine, to the Old Minster at Winchester; the grant, like many others by this family, was annulled by the Conqueror, and the lands were given to the Bishop of Coutances. By 1086 Bleadon had been restored to the Church,⁴ and the Bishop compensated by these lands and others in Tyringham and Clifton Reynes, co. Bucks.; but their total hidage is only 12½ h., as against the 15 h. of Bleadon. Similarly, for Toddington's 15 h. 2 v., only 7 h. 2½ v. are recorded as having been exchanged; and for Ware, which was assessed at 24 h., only 14 h. 3½ v. are noted.

i. at farm; a temporary title for a life or a term of years (Stotfold 133).

We may infer that lease, sale or exchange had taken place (for no claim or protest is registered) in Stanford 112; this is returned under Eudo's fief, but with the note, "Now Hugh de Beauchamp holds it."

§ 124. **Claims and encroachments.**—As a rule the separate holdings of Saxon time are meticulously kept still separate in D.B. under their new owners; the continuity of the tenement across the Conquest is strictly maintained.¹ This was a basal principle in the allotment of land to Normans, and colours the whole record. Again and again the Hundred bears witness that such land formed part of such a Saxon's estate, and therefore ought to be in the hands of his Norman successor. But it is hardly surprising that at a time of Conquest, whether by design or inadvertence, men occupied land which had not belonged to their Saxon predecessor or had not been assigned to them by the King; and a heavy crop of claims and encroachments was the result.

Of such encroachments twenty-eight have been noted²; in the majority of these the Hundred, in one the Shiremoor, vouches the facts. The grounds vouched are

- i. the land lay T.R.E. to the claimant's land (five cases)
- ii. the claimant or his antecessor had once been seised (ten cases)
- iii. the claimant or his antecessor had a royal grant (four cases)

The grounds of the claims are often interesting and informative, and have been utilised in other paragraphs. Both living tenants and their predecessors were often accused of wrongful disseisin; among the former William de Warenne occurs three times; of the latter, Ralf Taillebois occurs three times and John des Roches twice.

§ 125. **Change of ownership under royal sanction.**—Besides the apparently wrongful changes just mentioned, some other alterations in the natural sequence of tenancy had occurred, at or since the Conquest.

i. Of these some may be described as official, being probably carried out by the Sheriff to the benefit of the Crown.

Leighton 2	...	addition of 17 h. to the manor.
Sewell 8	...	addition of this to Houghton Regis.
Biscot 9	...	addition of this to Luton.
Eversholt etc. 356	...	added to the King's Service.
entries 358-363	...	" " " "
Dean 373	...	" " " "
Streatley 364	...	" " " "
Beeston 371	...	" " " "

ii. The recent gifts to religious foundations were still few:—

Kenemondwick, 49	by Waltheof and Judith to St. Edmund.
Biddenham, 65, 66	by Ralf Taillebois [? as Sheriff] to St. Paul.
Henlow 207	3 v. by Nigel de Albini to Angers.
Harrowden 325	by Judith to the Canons of St. Paul.

iii. The losses of land by the Church have been already discussed in § 73.

§ 126. **Miscellaneous cases.**—There are further a few outlying cases, some of which involve curious points of law or custom.

q. D.B. i, 87b.

r. An exception to this is found in Cople 173.

s. These claims are set out in column xxiii of Table I, and are under—

Barton 53	Dean 84	Maulden 190
Bedford 1	Eaton Socon 103	Pavenham 230 (bis).
Biddenham 348	Henlow 342	Sandy 108
Chawston 215 (ter.)	Houghton Conquest 331	Sharnbrook 275
Clophill 192	Marston Moretaine 77	Southill 247

i. Robert d'Oilli transferred two socmen, their land, and their assessment to geld (warra) from Milton Ernest (99a) to his then manor of Clapham. This shows in operation the method by which land in one vill came to 'lie to' another. It is not apparent from which holding in Milton they were taken.

ii. Unintelligible is the case of Tillsworth 120, whence wood for 100 swine had been 'removed' by Oswi, for nothing further is recorded of him in this county. It had apparently been recovered by William Peverel for his manor.

iii. An interesting case is that of Beeston 114, 115, where a Norman (§ 108), the tenant T.R.E. and T.R.W., seems to have been put down to the status of under-tenant, and part of his land taken from him by the high hand of Eudo dapifer, but the latter had no claim on it from his antecessor in the fief.

iv. An instance of simple oppression is apparently displayed in Biddenham 48; the Reeve of the Burgh of Bedford seized the land for a forfeit, and retained it, sheltering himself behind the Abbot of St. Edmund; the Hundred is clear that the seizure was wrongful.

v. An interesting problem is furnished by Sharnbrook 275. The T.R.E. tenant refused after the Conquest to pay rent for some land; Ralf Taillebois paid the rent and seized the land. Dr. Round³ refers this to an ordinance of King Cnut. "But what was unpaid was not tax (warra or geldum), but rent (gablum); and the case seems more easily explained as a failure to pay rent on royal land", which the Sheriff promptly punished by forfeiture—to himself!

vi. Of great interest is the record of Staughton 88, where a death-bed acknowledgment of patronage seems to transfer the overlordship. But this is not vouched by the Hundred, and it may be doubted whether it was good in law of the time.

THE SAXON SOCIAL FABRIC.

EARL AND SCIR-GEREFA.

§ 127. **The Earl and the Shire.**—In the organisation of the older shires,—among which ours cannot be reckoned,⁴—the chief person is the Ealdorman (alderman); at first elective, his office seems to have become hereditary at an early date. He was the King's lieutenant and military head of the shire; in a judicial and administrative capacity, together with the Sheriff and Bishop, he presided over the Shiremoor. In the reign of Æthelred (978—1016), the title of Eorl—originally meaning, in Anglo-Saxon, merely 'noble'—began to supplant that of Ealdorman, and to assume the Danish sense of the Jarl or under-king. Of the four great Earldoms created by the Danish King Cnut, that of Mercia probably included Bedfordshire. But in their later distribution in King Edward's day among the sons of Godwine, it is not certain under whose Earldom this shire fell; Tosti, Earl of Northumbria, received also

Staughton 24
Staughton 37
Staughton 87

Stotfold 133
Thurleigh 228
Tillbrook 85

Totternhoe 265
Wymington 212 (his).
Wymington 239

t. V.C.H., i, 207, n. 2.

u. Heming's Cartulary, i, 278.

v. Osbern holds 'de Rege.'

a. No certain mention of the shire of Bedford has been found before 1011 (V.C.H., ii, 19).

Northampton and Huntingdon; to Gyrrh was given the northern portion of East Anglia, and also Oxford; both of them held land in Bedfordshire. Gyrrh, however, had but one manor, and it is possible that he only received this on Tosti's banishment.^b Tosti had a far larger holding, and as, judged by its later descent, most of it fell to Waltheof, Tosti's successor in the Earldom of Northampton and Huntingdon, Bedfordshire probably came under his authority as Earl. In this holding of nearly 30 hides comprised in Potton with its berewick and members—the fourth largest holding in the county before the Conquest—we perhaps see one of the comitales uille with which the ealdormanships and later earldoms were endowed, and to which the third part of the profits of justice in the county was attached as revenue^c; as there was almost certainly no Earl after Waltheof's death, it could be assigned to the Countess.

Neither Tosti nor Waltheof are ever mentioned as Earls of Bedford, nor is an earl said in D.B. to have received the third penny of the revenues of the burgh as he did at Huntingdon. Yet some one must have discharged the Earl's duties in Saxon time, and we can only conclude from the imperfect evidence that Bedfordshire was loosely attached to Tosti's neighbouring earldom. The same uncertainty holds after the Conquest; William created as few Earls as possible, and the Beauchamps, though they may have exercised the functions, never received the title of Earl; they were displaced by Stephen for about three years (? 1138—1141) in favour of a definitely created Earl of Bedford, Hugh de Beaumont; but after his brief appearance the title was not revived till 1366.

§ 128. *The Sheriff.*—The Scir-gerefa or Shire-Reeve seems to have been appointed by the Crown always within historic times. His duties (which were not greatly altered by the Conquest) were to supervise taxation, to administer and account for the royal demesnes, and twice in the year to constitute the Shire Moot, in which the Ealdorman and Bishop presided with him to declare the law secular and the law ecclesiastical. Whether Godric the Sheriff (§ 174), who seems to have held a little land here and is known to have been sheriff of Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, had also been sheriff of this country or not, is uncertain; but the witness of Godrie tribunus to the grant of Studham^d suggests it. Ælfstan uicecomes, who also attests this grant, almost certainly was then Sheriff of Bedfordshire. In Saxon as in Norman time, the sheriff appears to have treated land somewhat high-handedly.

THE CHURCH.

§ 129. *Churchmen and their Lands.*—Of the Church in Saxon time, there is little to be learnt from our D.B. Bishop Wulfwig (§ 176) held Leighton Church, and had a few men in the county; his territorial

b. This was Kempston 208. We are told that Harrowden 325 was held by "Azelinus homo comitis Tosti. Non potuit dare neque uendere sine licentia illius qui Camestone manerium com' tenuit"; here com' is more likely to stand for comitis [Tosti] just mentioned, than for comitisse [Judith] to whom the manor had fallen; Cardington 326, held by the same 'man' of Tosti, was similarly inalienable without leave of Kempston's lord. If Gyrrh succeeded Tosti at Kempston these entries would become intelligible and would meet Dr. Round's difficulty (V.C.H., i, 204). The devolution of Tosti's manors after escheat to King Edward would then seem to be

Potton, 313, 209	Escheat to Kg.	Countess Judith
Hatley 322	Edw., granted to	"
Everton 323	E. Waltheof.	"
Charlton 332	[query]	Ad. de Grenmesnū
Kempston 268	Escheat to Kg.	Countess Judith
Harrowden 325	Edw., granted to	"
Cardington 326	E. Gyrrh	"

influence was but small. Only about 11 per cent. of the hidage of the county was in ecclesiastical hands, as against 16 per cent. in 1086. The few churches mentioned in D.B. were all pre-Conquest foundations. Only six priests are named:

Morcar, Luton 5	Leviet, Biddenham 65
" Battlesden 264	Samar, Rushden 121
" Potts Grove 263	Ulmar, Streatley 364
Ulmar, Biddenham 48	Alwin, Turvey, 379

It is as uncertain as in Norman time whether these men were the priests of the vill or not.

THE BURH.

§ 130. *The Burh of Bedford.*—Neither trade, nor even a population any denser than that of an ordinary township, are implied by the term 'burh'; it connoted merely a stronghold, a defensive earthwork. In time the word came especially to be used for those works on which the defence of the realm depended, in which therefore the King was especially interested and over the efficient upkeep of which he must exercise control. In such a King's burh ran the King's peace, guarded by special penalties for its breach. It would seem that, at any rate in those areas where the older sub-divisions had been obliterated by the Danes, for military purposes each shire was planned in later Saxon time to have its central burh, and to take its name from that burh. The burh-bót, the duty of helping to keep its earthen walls in repair, was laid upon the shire; this was one of the three things (trimoda necessitas) from which no land was exempt, and it fell directly on the great men of the shire. In order effectually to perform it, they acquired in many cases men and lands in the burh who 'lay to' their manors elsewhere in the shire. When the coorl who raised himself to thane's rank must have (among other things) a burh-geat-setl—a dwelling in the burh street—"he did not acquire a town house in order that he might enjoy the pleasures of the town. He acquired it because, if he was to be one of the great men of the county, he was bound to keep in the county burh retainers who would do the wall-work and hoard provisions sent in to meet the evil day when all men would wish to be behind the walls of a burh."^e Hence if we look at Domesday Book's account of Buckingham or Huntingdon or Hertford, we find that some indeed of the burgages are held from the King, but a large number are held from other magnates—Bishops, Earls, and Barons—with Saxon predecessors. The recognised Burghs head the D.B. record of their county; they precede and are separate from the Land of the King.

But when we turn to the account of Bedford, we find it describing a Vill, not a Burgh; it precedes indeed the Land of the King, but offers no list of magnates who have houses and men there. The inference has already been drawn (§ 72) from this and other facts that Bedford was in an especial sense a royal stronghold since its conquest from the Danes between 916 and 921. "In this year went King Edward to Bedanford . . . and took the burgh and to him turned most all the burghers that abode there, and he sat there four weeks and bade build the burgh on the south side of the river ere he fared thence."^f

c. Maitland: D.B., 168; Round: Geoffrey de Mandeville, 291.

d. B.H.R.S., v, 55.

e. Maitland: D.B., 190. Pp. 172-219 sketch the early history of boroughs. Another explanation of burh geat setl is furnished by Stevenson, Eng. Hist. Rev., xii, 480.

f. Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: i, 102. The exact date is uncertain.

The burh of Bedford therefore had been a Saxon stronghold for only about 150 years at the date of the Conquest, and—if we may judge from the silence of D.B.—the system of burh-bót was not the same as that which ruled for the older burhs. The Conquest had apparently produced no change in the relation of this burh to the Crown, beyond the rating of one hide to geld; it was in 1086 as it had been T.R.E. Beyond this, D.B. tells us nothing.

ROYAL LAND.

§ 131. **Ancient Demesne.**—Those lands which at a later date were styled the ‘manors of St. Edward,’ ancient demesne of the Crown from time immemorial, were considerably less than the demesnes held by the Conqueror. They were (including the land held by their respective churches)

	T.R.E.	T.R.W.
Leighton, 2, 3 ...	30h.	47h.
Luton, 4, 5 ...	30h.	30h.
Houghton Regis, 6, 7	10h.	10h.
Sewell, 8 ...	...	3h.
Biscot, 9 ...	...	5h.
	70h.	95h.

The three ancient manors, if we may judge by the feorm or farm (§ 116) which they paid, were passed from king to king, were regalis terra and an appanage of the Crown.

§ 132. **Other Royal Land.**—Before, as after, the Conquest, the King acquired land by gift, by escheat, and other means. King Edward held Potton 313 (presumably with its members, Potton 309, Hatley 322, and Everton 323) and its berewick Charlton 332, apparently as escheat on the forfeiture and banishment of Earl Tosti in 1065.* These were not treated as ancient demesne, or annexed to the Norman Crown. Both Edward and his Queen, and her brother Earl (King) Harold, had ‘men’ in the county, but in these cases also the Conqueror claimed no right as successor to the Crown.

THEGNS.

§ 133. **The King’s Thanes.**—Some at least of the King’s Thanes^b were landed magnates, with large estates in numerous counties. They appear to have been organised as a fighting caste by King Alfred during his struggle against the Danes, when he definitely linked land ownership with military service, at the rate of a warrior for every five hides. In the xjth century “the name of thegn covers the whole class, which after the Conquest appears under the name of knights, with the same qualification in land and nearly the same obligations. It also carried so much of nobility as is implied in hereditary privilege.” The thane must have five hides of his own land, church and kitchen, bell-house and burh-geat-setl (§ 130), and special service in the King’s hall; a ceorl could ‘thrive to thegn-right’ if he acquired these, so that nobility of birth was not essential to the rank.

While it is frequently recorded of a King’s Thane that he had power of disposal of his land, the reverse is never stated; in the sole instance of such a thane holding Church land (Clapham 99), this power naturally would not exist, he would hold as a knight of the abbey.

In some counties, for example, in Huntingdonshire,

the list of ‘King’s Reeves and Almsmen’ which concludes our D.B. is replaced by one headed, ‘Thanes of the King’; it has been suggested that these men are remnants of the thanes of King Edward, allowed by King William to eke out existence on a few acres as his pensioners or as minor officers (ministri). This may have been the case also with some of our almsmen, but the names concerned are too common to allow anything but a guess at their identity.

§ 134. **The Lower Thanes.**—Our D.B. records in Saxon time ‘thanes’ in addition to the ‘thanes of King Edward.’ The mere thanes seem to have held but small parcels of land in groups; Table X shows thirty-six such unnamed thane-holdings, making in all only thirty-three hides. These holdings are curiously localised in a small part of the county, the reason for which restriction does not appear. It has been suggested that the small estate is due to the rank being hereditary; “since the law which regulates the inheritance of land does not favour the first-born, we may have poor thegns and landless thegns.” But this would not explain their curious distribution. In nine out of the ten villis in which they occur, these thanes had power of disposal of their land; in the tenth nothing is said as to this.

§ 135. **Size of Saxon Estates.**—It is not possible to present for Saxon holders anything corresponding to Table IV of the Norman T. in C. But it is worth while to compare the smallness of the estates of the chief King’s Thanes with the ‘latifundia’ of Norman Barons. To the hidage of the three principal Thanes and the (probable) Earl of the county is appended that of their actual Norman successors:—

	h. v.	successor	h. v.
Anschil ...	69 2	Beauchamp ...	173 3
Levenot ...	40 0	Fleming family ...	62 2
Ulmur ...	52 2	Eudo dapifer ...	72 1
Earl Tostig ...	29 0	Countess Judith ...	85 3

The six next largest lay holders in Saxon time were:—

Lewin cilt ...	35 2	Alwold of Stevinton ...	19 3
Borgred ...	31 2	Aisi of Bromham ...	19 1
Alestan of Boscumbe ...	24 0	Wulward the White ...	15 0

But some King’s Thanes are credited with only 2, 5, 6, or 7 hides; and one, Almar (Bolnhurst 299) with only 2 virgates, but he may be perhaps the Almar who held in Hatley St. George and other places in Cambridgeshire.

§ 136. **The Sharing of the Spoil.**—There appears to be no recognisable rule on which the Saxon estates were transferred to their new masters (compare Table VIII). In the case of Alestan de Boscumbe, not only his three manors but also the five holdings of his ‘men’ were conveyed in block to the estate which fell to William de Ow; the latter received nothing further in this county, but succeeded Alestan with like thoroughness in many others—a little fact which suggests the reflection that the Saxon chancellor must have possessed an accurate ‘survey’ of the kingdom, and that a domesday book was no new thing in England. Similarly Anschill’s fifteen holdings, with eight holdings of his ‘men,’ devolved solidly upon Hugh de Beauchamp and Azelina Taillebois, with a single exception; and the lands of Borgred and his men fell, mostly but not so completely, to the Bishop of Coutances. On the other hand, the four holdings of Godwin Frambolt went to four different Normans, Lewin cilt’s lands were divided among five tenants in chief, and nine holdings of the ‘men’ of Earl Tostig fell to six new lords.

g. Bayford co. Herts. was similarly escheated for the same reason.
h. Maitland : D.B., 160-166.

i. Stubbs : Constitutional History, i. ch. vi.

If we look at this question from the other side (Table IV, col. xix.) we see the same lack of consistent principle. Walter Giffard's fief is a composite of oddments, that of Eudo dapifer based largely upon the estate of Ulmar of Etone and his men, that of Nigel de Albini a congeries of the lands of every class of Saxon below an earl.

The result suggests that in the first instance the estates of the greater thanes—Alwold, Anschill, Borgred, Levenot, etc.—were generally assigned in entirety, with most of their men, to certain favoured Normans; and that what was thereon left was divided among others according to their supposed deserts. The geographical tangle is such that one could readily believe that lots were drawn for them, but it is possible that post-Conquest exchange and sale have somewhat blurred the record.

THE LESSER LANDHOLDERS.

§ 137. **Problems of Saxon Tenure.**—With the lesser landholders^k we approach what is still the most difficult problem presented by the Great Survey—their relations to their lords, the connection between the small holding and the large estate, in the years immediately before the Conquest. And it seems well to bear in mind that D.B. was compiled twenty years after the wreck of the social fabric which it tries in part to depict, by the pens of Norman scribes wholly unfamiliar with that fabric, from oral evidence of conquered Saxons. We dare not therefore expect each and every scribe and commissioner to fasten upon the same points of law and custom, or to use their technical terms always in the same sense, as his fellows. Nothing but close analysis, of what the D.B. of each county can tell us of that county, seems likely to enable the future student to reconcile the conflicting evidence presented by the Great Survey as a whole.

There is one question which evidently seemed of supreme importance to our commissioners and their scribes:—had the Saxon holder power of disposal over his land or not? The bearing of this question is not obvious, because the land had been assigned to its Norman overlord, and he had enfeoffed his followers years ago; their tenancy was secure; and their title in any case did not depend upon the answer. Curiously enough, this question does not appear in the Interrogatory (§ 5), as it has come down to us. Yet we may feel sure that it was not prompted by antiquarian curiosity, that it had an intended bearing upon the status and duties of the cultivator of the soil, and that it was ultimately designed to fix responsibility for payment of taxation.

Besides the power of disposal possessed or not by the smaller landholder, D.B. often indicates his relation to some one of more importance:—"this manor two men of King Edward and one of Earl Harold held," "they were men of Aschil," and so forth. Or they are described as 'socmen,' occasionally as 'of the King's soke.' But it seems fairly clear from some entries that 'men' and 'socmen' are not alternatives, but refer to standards different in kind, as if a directory should describe a row of houses as inhabited by 'employés' and 'ratepayers'; the two classes are not directly correlated. "This manor six socmen held, they were men of Borred, of the King's

soke" (21). Sometimes a socman on a thane's land is said to be that thane's 'man,' sometimes no such statement is made. A conclusive entry occurs under Elnow 297:—"this manor four socmen held, they were men of the King, they could give and sell their land, but the soke remained in Kempston." It becomes clear that the terms 'men' and 'socmen' are not meant to compare persons by the same gauge, they are recording different and unrelated attributes.

§ 138. **Status of the Socmen.**—In considering the socmen of this county, one is tempted to wonder whether the scribe had not in mind a social level rather than a definable legal status. All socmen, we may take for granted, had this much in common, that they owed soke^m to some lord, that they must 'seek' him or his court for certain purposes. But just as we can speak to-day of a 'small-holder,' meaning a particular social class of men who till for themselves a small parcel of land, and we do not thereby distinguish the freeholder from the rent-paying tenant or from the man who mortgaged his land in order to buy it,—so also a man might apparently have the social status of a socman, whether he were some one else's man or not, whether he were free to dispose of his land or not.

In the greater number of the very numerous entries which record socmen as having held in this county, they are noted as able to dispose of their land, in one or another of the usual phrases familiar to students of D.B.; they could 'give,' or 'sell,' or 'give and sell,' or 'could do what they would with the land,' 'without leave of the lord,' or they even 'could withdraw to another lord'; they were in no way tied to the soil, or to the thane who had received certain rights over that soil. All these expressions have been shown by Dr. Roundⁿ to imply the same power of disposal. In five cases only is this liberty restricted; they are worth quoting in full for the light which they throw on difficult points:—

Dean 21. Sex sochemanni. homines Borred fuerunt. de soca Regis. iij hidas et dim. potuerunt dare et uendere et ad alterum dominum recedere sine licentia Borred. Dimidiam uero hidam sine licentia eius dare et uendere non potuerunt.

Dean 84. Tres sochemanni . . . Unus eorum non potuit dare et uendere terram suam sine licentia domini sui. Alii duo uero hoc facere potuerunt.

Tillbrook 85. Idem ipsi sochemanni . . . ita de soca regis fuerunt quod dare et uendere terram suam cui uoluissent potuerunt et recedere ad alium dominum sine licentia eius sub quo fuerunt.

Tempsford 107. Tres sochemanni homines Ulmari de Etone. Unus eorum dare non potuit sine licentia domini sui alii duo quod uoluerint facere potuerunt.

Stanford 130. Quatuor sochemanni quorum tres liberi fuerunt. quartus uero unam hidam habuit sed nec dare nec uendere potuit.

The entry of Stanford 130 is of special value, as showing that, in this county, socmen who could give and sell their land were regarded as 'free' men, and contrasted with the [unfree] men who could not do so. From the other entries it appears that it was possible to be the 'man' of a lord, and a socman of the King's soke, and yet to have power of disposal of land, or of becoming the 'man' of some other lord; surely freedom of tenure and contract can hardly go further.

But the soke was not fluid; on the contrary, it is pretty clear that it was inherent in the land and was inalienable.

Eversholt Weburn Potsgrave 356, Maulden 359. To the allied service of 'inward' there is no reference in Beds.

m. The meaning of this term has been briefly sketched in § 98.

n. Round: F.E., 22.

k. Maitland: D.B. passim; particularly pp. 23-25, 66-107.
l. The King's Soke in Cambs. and Herts. seems to have implied a carrying service (auera) when he was in the county or a payment if he was not, at the rate of one auera or (in Herts.) 4d. per hide (V.C.H. Herts., i, 269-271). This service is not mentioned in our D.B., and only 5 cases of King's socmen have been noticed: Dean 21, Tillbrook 85, Cainhoe 336,

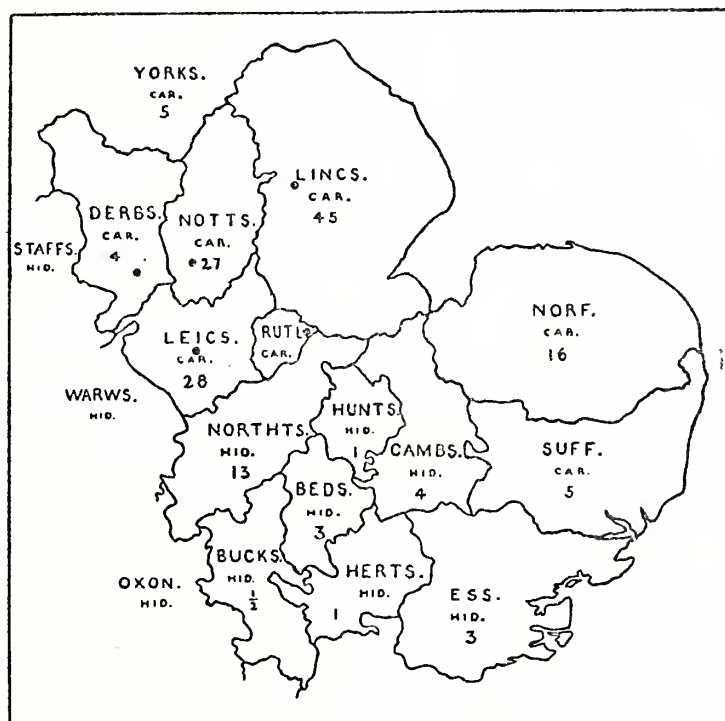
o. Translated in Table I, col. xxiii.—There is also an entry under Eaton Socen 103 mentioning post-Conquest socmen without power of disposal, but the scribe seems to have in some way slipped.

Staughton 37. Aluuinus (deule) homo episcopi Lincolnensis Et quod uoluit de ea [terra] facere potuit Soca tam[en] semper episcopi fuit.
 Staughton 87. Auigi homo Aschil . . . potuit uendere cui uoluit set socam ipse Aschil retinuit in Colneborde manerio suo.
 Staughton 145. Ouiet homo Aschil. Et dare et uendere potuit set soca semper iacuit in Culneuoarde manerio Aschil.
 Wilsbamstead 295. Judita comitissa dedit [hoc manerium] in elemosina sed soca iacuit semper in Camestone.
 Elstow 297. Quatuor socheinanni homines regis Eduuardi fuerunt terram suam dare et uendere potuerunt sed in Camestone iacuit semper soca eorum.

The point of recording the inalienability of the soke in these cases appears to be the fact that it was appurtenant to some other manor, not to the manor of the vill in which the land lay.^p No matter who bought the land, the land remained liable for soke to the manor specified.

In summary, so far as this county is concerned, we shall not err far in regarding the socman as holder of a small estate in which was inherent a fixed soke of some kind; who might be a 'free man' (liber homo) as

As to their numbers, in consideration of Table IX, the first point to be made is that the figures in column i, the numbers given in D.B. for Saxon time, are not necessarily the number of socmen, but are the number of soc-lands, the holdings which owed soke. This is easily seen; in Blunham 113, good market-garden land as it is to-day, four men could not have got their victual off 30 acres (of which half was fallow) by any husbandry known to the xith century; still less could seven socmen exist on the 7 acres of Stanford 112. These are extreme cases; but many more go to show that when D.B. says "This land six socmen held," it means no more than it says; it neither says nor means that these six men got their sole living from it. By such phrases the Survey is recording separate geld-paying parcels of land according to their tenure, and is in no way concerned with statistics of population. We can add the figures in column i to arrive at the total number of tenures in soke,



MAP SHOWING ALL CARUCATED AND SOME HIDATED COUNTIES, AND SEEBOHM'S PERCENTAGES OF SOC MEN IN THE POPULATION. THE DANISH 'FIVE BOROUGHS' ARE MARKED BY BLACK CIRCLES.

able to dispose of his land, or unfree in so far as he could not do so; who incidentally might be the 'man of' someone else, or might not be such. Other sources show that he ranked among the ceorls, below the thane and considerably below the King's thane.

§ 139. Size and number of soc-lands.—On the size of the socman's holding it is not safe to venture, because socmen are (except in one case) nameless; it is possible and even likely that the same man may have held a hide in one vill, a half hide in the next, a virgate in a third, as did the King's thanes, and after them the Normans. The single holdings recorded are anything between a virgate and a hide.

p. The Bishop had no manor in Little Staughton; soke was probably due at Great Staughton, co. Hunts., where he held a manor of 6 hides; but

but they will not tell us the number of socmen. I venture to think that the non-recognition of this has given unnecessary trouble to many students of D.B.; assuredly it has vitiated many statistical conclusions.—Again, we do not know whether any, or how many, of the smaller named Saxons were holding in soke; it is certainly implied that some held in soke who are not styled socmen.

§ 140. Distribution of soc-lands.—Mr. Seebohm^q regarded socmen as a class "distinctly and exceptionally Danish," and shows among his maps what he terms the 'percentage of population' which they formed in the counties where they occur. But apparently he obtained

the Staughtons were not then separated so sharply as to-day by a definite county boundary.

q. Seebohm: Village Community, 87.

the numbers for this by counting up the soc-lands; and, as has just been stated, this method is entirely untrustworthy for statistics of population, though it does give some sort of an unscientific ratio between, on the one hand the number of tenures in soke, and on the other the population counted by an equally uncertain process.

Maitland was content to enumerate the counties in which socmen occurred in largest numbers, but does not appear to have committed himself for or against their Danish origin. There can however be no doubt that they occur most plentifully in the most Danish counties (Lines. Notts. Leics. Norf.) and diminish in numbers as the edge of the Dane-law is approached. If the status of socman was not of Danish introduction, it is assuredly a measure of Danish influence. In the figure are shown the counties (p. 85) where socmen are recorded, the assessment of the land by the Danish earucate (CAR.) or by the Saxon hide (HID.), and the numbers which Mr. Seebohm gave as representing the 'percentage of population' formed by soemen; the figure shows pretty clearly that Danish influence on Bedfordshire would be from the North and East.¹ This is borne out by Map IX; on this, the amount of land held in soke in each vill has been expressed as a percentage of the total hidage of that vill, and the results are shown by graduated tinting. The areas of greatest intensity seem to show (a) penetration along the Ouse to Bedford, along the Vale of Bedford and the Ivel valley, (b) pressure also from Northants where soc-holding was strongly developed. It is not clear whether this infiltration was by conquest or by 'peaceful penetration'; nor is there any guarantee that it was produced by a single migratory movement; indeed the historical relations of the Danes to Bedfordshire, their successive advances and retreats, argue against a simultaneous migration. But, just as it is certain that the Danes, when in possession of the county, did not drive out or kill off every Saxon, so it is unlikely that, when their power here was finally broken about 920, every Danish settler was expelled; and it is more than possible that the T.R.E. soemen are evidences of their persistence, heirs of their custom if not of their blood. Though it has been doubted whether any place-names in this county are of Danish origin, the personal name Daco, Danensis, le Daneis, it not uncommon in our early records. The wave seems to have spent itself in Buckinghamshire, where only some 39 socmen are recorded in D.B. for Saxon time; but Fin the Dane held in Cheddington both before and after the Conquest.

§ 141. *Fate of the Socmen.*—As to this there can be little doubt. The majority lost their status altogether. In Table IX, on any interpretation of the figures in column i, the enormous reduction of soclands after the Conquest becomes striking indeed. Instead of 672 Saxon holdings in soke, comprising land assessed at 353 hides, are left but 102 certain and 4 doubtful cases of men entered as socmen, who are credited with only 20h. 1½v. In many cases the number of pre-Conquest socmen tallies with that of post-Conquest villans; but this may mean merely that the available tilled land would only carry that number of persons, irrespective of tenure; we may not infer that the socmen are now necessarily villans. More instructive on this point are the four entries which follow:—

r. Supplemented for Yorks. from Maitland.

s. Dr. Round calls attention to a similar distribution of socmen in the north and east of Hertfordshire (V.C.H. Herts., i. 266, 267); and Danais Daneis or Dacorum Hundred is in the north of that county, abutting on

Dean 21. There are 6 socmen and 6 bordars and 2 serfs.
Potton, 313. There are 18 villans and 2 socmen with 8 teams.
Tillbrook 85. Land for 6 teams and they are there and 20 socmen and 4 bordars.
Wilden 18. The villans have 10 teams. . . There are 20 socmen and 12 bordars and 1 serf.

Those who are familiar with the way in which the Survey marshals its facts will recognise at once that these men, if not actually regarded as villans, are very near to it.

§ 142. *The 'Man.'*—With the 'man of' some magnate, we feel, perhaps too hastily, that we are on firmer ground than with the socmen. When we read that "they bowed themselves before William and became this man's men," we see a solemn rite of homage far older than the Conquest and by no means confined to this island.

The status of the 'man' is not expounded in our record, and we must turn to other counties for its illustration:—"For his protection he submitted himself to the Bishop"; He became the man of Geoffrey of his own free will"; "She put herself with her land in the Queen's hand." And when D.B. tells us "as he constantly does, that one person was the man of another, no doubt it is telling us of a relationship which had its origin in an oath and a symbolic ceremony. . . . An Anglo-Saxon oath of fealty (hyldað) has been preserved. The swearer promises to be faithful and true to his lord, to love all that his lord loves and eschew all that his lord eschews. He makes no distinct reference to any land, but he refers to some compact which exists between him and his lord," a compact so well recognised as to need no expression.

The personal bond was assuredly profitable to both sides; the smaller man found a protector often needed in rough times; the greater man enlisted a sworn retainer, to fight in his troop, or to act as champion and compurgator at the law. There might be more than one link in the chain; your 'man' might himself have 'men' who followed him, a useful addition to your fighting force." But as a rule the small folk became 'men' of a bishop, an earl, a King or Queen; at least of a King's Thane, especially if a neighbouring landholder. Even the latter are sometimes described as 'men' of King or Queen. No rights over land seem to have been necessarily acquired by the lord in this bond; it was purely personal and defensive. Yet it was possible to be a 'man' of one lord as regarded one holding, and of another lord at another; this is proved by the unmistakable name of Alwin Deule (Table VIII), certainly man of the Bishop of Lincoln near the Bishop's great manor, and man of King Edward at two holdings some distance away; probably (judged by propinquity of lands) man also of Earl Harold and of Stori. There are other probable cases, less certain because the name is less definite.

With 'men' as with socmen, the compiler was most scrupulous to note the right of disposal or its absence. In the following list, believed to include all cases of the restriction of this right which have not been quoted already (§ 138), the holder is described either as a 'man of' or as holding 'sub' some one (§ 144), in every case but one.²

Beds. from Hyde to Studham.

t. Maitland: D.B., 69.

u. See the entries Avigi and Stori in Table IX.

v. Translated in Table I, col. xxiii.

Shelton 23. Hoc manerium tenuit Ulueua sub Borret. non potuit dare nec uendere sine eius licentia.
 Newton 27. Aluinus homo Borred. non potuit dare [licet] uendere sine eius licentia.
 Biddenham 39. Leuric homo episcopi Lincolnensis sed non potuit dare nec uendere sine licentia eius.
 Clifton 57. Istemet tunc tenuit [sub abbate Ramesie] sed ab ecclesia separare non potuit.
 Wardon 291. Qui eam [terram] T.R.E. tenuit nec uendere nec dare potuit sine licentia eius qui Bichelesuade tenuit.
 Harrowden 325. Azelinus homo comitis Tosti. non potuit dare neque uendere sine licentia illius qui Camestone manerium com[itis] tenuit.
 Cardington 326. Azelinus homo Tosti comitis. non potuit dare [licet] uendere sine licentia eius qui Camestone tenuit.

§ 143. **Commendation.**—This term is used only three times in our record. Two of these refer to Norman time and have already been mentioned (§ 122). The third relates to a Saxon lady: "This manor Leveva held, commended to Earl Waltheof and she could withdraw with her land where she would." (Aspley 138). In some counties the term is largely used, and seems to represent practically the same bond as is implied by the 'man' in this county, nor does Maitland attempt to draw a sharp line between the two phrases.

§ 144. **Tenure 'de' and 'sub.'**—There is little doubt that these prepositions imply tenure somewhat out of the ordinary. So far as has been noted, 'de' is used once only to express Saxon tenure, except in the phrase 'de Rege,' taken here to mean by special grant of the King. In the single case, Beorhtric held Clapham 99 'from' the Abbot of Ramsey; the tenure was certainly dependent, probably a lease for a life or lives commonly granted before the Conquest by religious houses, and at the Conquest leading (as in this case) to loss of their lands by confiscation of their tenant's estate. 'Sub' has been noted three times: Ulueva held Shelton 23 'under' Borgred but had not power of disposal; Lewin holds and held in Clifton 57 'under' the Abbot of Ramsey, but had not power of disposal; a socman held in Holme 165 'under' Aschil, and had power of disposal; the dependent tenure suggested by the first two cases seems to be contradicted by the third, but is probably the correct explanation both of 'de' and 'sub.'

§ 145. **The three bonds.**—If the foregoing conclusions are correct, it follows that the chief difficulty, presented in the terms and phrases by which the lesser landholders are described in D.B., is due to their dealing in the same sentence with three disconnected aspects of a man to his superior; these are

- (a) the personal bond, the relation between 'man' and lord for mutual legal and military support; generally unrelated in any way to land tenure;
- (b) the judicial bond, the duty of the person, while in possession or user of certain land, to render the soke inherent in that land to some manor or court;
- (c) the tenorial bond, by which a person might (somewhat rarely did) hold land of a superior, without power of disposal of that land.

In any particular instance, any one or two of the three might not be recorded, or any combination of them might appear in the same person.

§ 146. **Tenure and Geld.**—The unfailing interest shown by the compilers of D.B. in the Saxon's power of disposal of his land has yet to be explained. As already said, the matter can have had no bearing on Norman title. I hazard the suggestion (for comparison with

other counties) that, if the Saxon holder had power of disposal, that is to say had been a 'free man,' after the Conquest he or his successor must pay the Danegeld to the lord of the manor; if the holder had not that power, the lord must pay the geld. In order to illustrate the point, another county must be cited:—"Leofwin held a half hide and he could withdraw with his land And he gave the geld to his lord and his lord gave nothing."^w If this surmise be correct, the fiscal authorities would be most deeply interested in the exact terms of Saxon tenure; so also would the lord, for he secures in D.B. a register of obligations due from his own tenants, to which he can appeal just as the Exchequer will appeal to D.B. against him. The incidence of taxation as between lord and villan would thus become materially altered, leaving a greater manorial profit to the lord than otherwise would be suspected.

§ 147. **Communal Ownership.**—A discussion of this vexed question would hardly be in place here. Yet it cannot be passed over entirely, since Bedfordshire is, nearly if not absolutely, the only county in which D.B. records a definite instance. Of Goldington 164 (a single hide) we are told—"This land the men of the vill held in common (communiter) and could sell."

From Seebohm^a came the suggestion (swallowed uncritically by many of his successors, but not by Maitland), that the conquering Saxons adopted the land system of the conquered Welsh, a system based on a close blood relationship, which involved common ownership of land by the family, co-operative ploughing, and periodical redistribution of the clan's arable land—a system only possible in undisturbed conditions, and singularly unsuited to fighting bands of individualistic Northmen pressing in from the coast-line, liable to be pressed in their turn from behind.

Of common ownership of the land of the vill by the men of that vill, and of periodic redistribution of the strips of arable among them, there is (I believe) no trace in Saxon England. Assuredly, men who live in a small community have common interests which are best served by some measure of common control; we find signs of this control in the Saxon laws, and we further find the obvious economy of co-operative ploughing; it needed no Welshman to teach them that. But the entry under Goldington need mean no more than that the fifteen men^b of King Edward's time or their predecessors had taken in a hide from the waste by joint effort, and had not apportioned it among their previous holdings.

THE TILLERS OF THE SOIL.

§ 148. **The Gencat and Cotsetla.**—Of the main classes of Saxon society, thegen, ceorl and theow—thane, churl and servant—the two latter present more difficulty than the former. The remarkable work known as the *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*^c, which may be translated roughly as 'rules for several folk,' sets out the duties which certain men and classes owe to the state the church and their lords; in some cases their perquisites or rewards are also given. Its author constantly points out that the services due are different in different places, and that he sets down those with which he is familiar. The fact that he has no word of socmen seems to show that he did not belong to eastern England, but his account of the boor points to his living in Wessex or

w. D.B., i. 28.

a. F. Seebohm: *English Village Community*, 117-125.

b. Maitland: D.B. 143 missed Goldington 368.

c. Schmid: *die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 370-383.

western Mercia. The Saxon text is probably of the xth century; and a Latin translation, perhaps of the time of Henry I, shows which terms in the two languages were regarded as synonymous at the later date. The classes which he describes are:

Thegen = tainus [thane].
 Geneat = villanus [villan].
 Kotsetla = Cotsetla [cottar or bordar].
 Gebur = Burus [boor or boer].

After these classes he descends to single workers with special duties.

The services of the geneat or villan^d are set down generally, not in detail; nor is the size of his holding given. His right or duty (it is pleasant to find but one word for the two) is "various according to the custom of the country" (mistic be þam þe on lande staent); on some estates he pays yearly landgafol (rent) and grass-swine (the pannage pig), rides carries and leads, works on the land for and pays some 'farm' in produce to the lord; helps to build and fence the village and make new roads, pays kirkshot and almsfee (offertory and poor-rate), keeps head-ward and horse-ward (?military guard when the King was in the district), and so forth; it is remarkable that no special emphasis is laid on the ploughing, which seems later to have been his characteristic service, but this may have been taken for granted.—More definitely set out are the duties of the kotsetla or bordar: "Cottar-right [varies] according to the custom of the country. On some lands he shall, each Monday through the year, work first for his lord, or on three days a week in autumn, nor need he pay rent. It befits him to hold five acres, more if it be the custom of the country, and too little is it if it be less, for that his service will be frequent; pay his hearth-penny on Holy Thursday as befits every free man; and if bidden answer for his lord's demesne at sea-ward and at king's deer-drive and at such things as are of his degree; and pay his kirkshot at Martinmas." The Latin text adds that on some estates he works every day in August for the lord, and mows an acre of barley for his day's work; he is to have his sheaf which the reeve or the steward will give him.—The Gebur or boor seems to hold on a tenure of a different kind; unlike the former two, he receives his holding ready stocked (two oxen, a cow, and six sheep), seven acres of his yardland (virgate) already sown, together with tools and house-plenishing; all these revert to the lord at his death, but the lord who has advanced them naturally exacts more work-rent from such a tenant, as well as a small money-rent, fold-soke, and some payment in produce.—If we may rely on the Rectitudines—and there seems to be no better authority—we may class Geneat, Kotsetla and Gebur together as ceorls or non-noble men, and may foresee in them their D.B. successors, the villan, the bordar, and the boor. They are all free men with a wergild (blood-money for their killing) of 200 shillings, but are men of different economic status and different tenure; the geneat and gebur pay money-rent, the kotsetla does not; the gebur enters on his holding with everything found for him, the other two do not; the kotsetla should hold at least five acres, but the geneat (as we know from our D.B.) may hold something like a hide of land although generally less.

d. Maitland (D.B., 50, 328, 329) finds a difficulty in equating geneat and villanus, but the reason which he assigns does not seem adequate. The geneat is assuredly not exactly the villan of the xijth century, but much had befallen between the Rectitudines and Bracton.

§ 149. **The Theow.**—After the gebur, the Rectitudines pass to the rent-paying beekeeper and the rent-paying swineherd, two men who pay for their holding partly in work, partly in produce of so much honey or so many swine; they are not serfs, but might have serf helpers (þeow swan and þeow beocere). But after these comes (i) the demesne swineherd (æhte swan), who receives certain perquisites and "other the rights which befit a serf" (þeowan men); the next two paragraphs deal with food allowances to (ii) men serfs and (iii) women serfs; followed by (iv) a statement that to every 'demesne man' (eallum æhte-mannum) belongs a Christmas and Easter allowance (feorm), some arable land (sulh-æcer), and the harvest sheaf, besides the necessary payments (nyd-rihte); and it seems clear that in these last four paragraphs we are dealing with serfs. Next come the rights and duties of eleven separate farm occupations:—

follower	shepherd	bedell
sower	goatherd	woodward
oxherd	cheesewright	hedgeward
cowherd	granger	

and it is difficult to avoid the belief that these are the 'demesne men' whose food allowances have just been prescribed. If these are not the serfs, the theowan menn, who did their very necessary work on a large demesne? Not the geneat and kotsetla, who had their own lands to cultivate as well as to work for the lord. The amount of land assigned to some of these eleven shows that they were neither geneat nor kotsetla; the follower receives two acres, one sown the other not; the bedell has but a pigtle (land-styccce); the hedgeward a piece along the meadow. I cannot avoid the conclusion that the Saxon theow or D.B. servus was primarily a farm-servant, a man who was born to or fell into such poverty that he could only secure bread to eat and a roof over his head by taking service in almost absolute dependence on his lord. The close connection in D.B. between serfs and demesne has been already pointed out (§ 105); and it is remarkable that we find much the same payments and perquisites among farm servants of a later date. It is not suggested that all these occupations were on every demesne filled solely by serfs; on a small estate some were unnecessary, some could be united in one man, many could be carried out by women and boys; the Rectitudines merely detail the terms of the contract which governs such occupations if filled by special workers.

"Some are serfs by birth, some by being made such, some by purchase or [?] contract, others by their own or another man's gift." If a free man fall into serfdom, or a serf win his freedom, the ceremony must be done in public, solemnly and symbolically, in church or market, Hundred or County Moot. The serf may have free kinsfolk, he may thrive and buy his freedom, but till then he is a man who, for one of the reasons assigned, has become most strictly bound to serve another man. If he is killed, his kinsfolk receive but forty pence as wergild, his lord twenty shillings; he is therefore at least a part of a man.

e. The Gebur does not occur in Bedfordshire, but I have noticed him once in Buckinghamshire; his tenure is characteristic of western England.
 f. Leges Henrici primi, 76 § 3, in Schmid: die Gesetze der Angelsachsen.

MISCELLANEOUS MEN.

§ 150. **Royal Officers.**—i. The Staller. This office has already been mentioned, and its Saxon holders named (§ 106). ii. The Chamberlain. Wenesi is described in Bucks as the King's Chamberlain; his duties in Saxon time (as later) seem to have been largely financial. iii. The Housecarls. This term was applied to the little standing force of Thorkil and his Danes, raised about 1012 and continued under Cnut and his successors. They were probably never as many as 3,500 men, and enjoyed special pay and privileges. When

they were disbanded by Edward in 1051 as a permanent force, the King and chief magnates retained the style of housecarls for their personal body-guard. Thus we have Tovi housecarl of King Edward (275, 305), and Auti housecarl of Earl Algar (141). While the service was naturally rewarded by a grant of land for sustenance, the word does not seem to connote any tenurial relation to the lord. iv. Two personal servants of the King are recorded; his steersman (308) and huntsman (293). Two bedells held jointly in Holme 362, and were probably lesser officials.

PART IV: PERSONAL.

A. IN NORMAN TIME.

§ 151. **Introductory.**—These brief notes make no pretence of deep genealogical research, but are mostly drawn from the usual sources. They have been added because others, like myself, will probably feel a mere catalogue of Domesday magnates to be a little repellant unless vivified by some knowledge of the human (often very human!) personality behind the name.

Some link-pedigrees, in which persons mentioned in the D.B. of this county stand in thick type, show what a small family party the invaders formed; but it should hardly be needful to warn the reader that such work at this period is necessarily tentative. Since place-names and nick-names had hardly begun to crystallise into fixed surnames, the list of persons is arranged alphabetically by christian names, but the general index will supply a reference from the incipient surname if needed.

It must be remembered that our most important local Barons, such as Beauchamp and Albini, were very small people indeed when compared with some Norman magnates; for example, Roger de Busli had 174 manors in Notts., Ilbert de Laci 164 manors in Yorks. Some of those who held a little land in Beds. had enormous fiefs up and down the country; for instance, Odo Bishop of Bayeux is credited with 439 manors, and Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances with 280 manors, which they held as statesmen and soldiers, not as Churchmen.*

§ 152. **Origin of the squire class.**—Of many men, naturally, little or nothing can now be found, but the number of cases in which the D.B. undertenant founded a family which can be shown to have flourished for a century or more after the Conquest was (at least to the present writer) quite unexpected. It seemed likely that in the lawless times of Stephen and John security of tenure would have disappeared, but in fact a large proportion of the squires of Henry III seem to have been direct descendants of the Norman soldiery. One cannot but think that, had surnames been more usual in 1086, yet more cases could have been tracked. Of all the undertenants with a distinctive surname only five (Paris, Rochester, Froissart, Ivri, Taissel) have as yet yielded no result; on the other hand the names in the following list can be traced in connection with their

original lands for some time, often to a date well into the xiiijth century:

Burnard
Erfast
Ernulf de Arde
Geoffrey de Trailli
Gilbert de Blouville
Hugh de Bolebec
Hugh Hubald
Nigel de Wast
Osbern de Broilg
Pirrot

Ralf de Langetot
Ralf Passaquam
Richard Basset
Richard Talbot
Serlo de Ros
Walter monachus
William Basset
William le Caron
William de Locels

Great as was the part played by the overlords in the shaping of the Constitution, the first making of England was done by these smaller men in every village, men whose names do not appear among the dramatic personæ of history, unless their worth brought them forward at a later date to replace the effete descendants of the first conquerors as lawyers, churchmen and administrators; of this emergence from historical obscurity, Basset and Passelewe (Passaquani) are conspicuous examples from this county.

§ 153. **Auxiliaries.**—The soldiers of fortune, who followed William's standard but were not of Norman blood, were mainly either Bretons or Flemings. Only three or four years before the Conquest William had repelled from Normandy an invasion of Bretons, defeated Conan their Count, and raided their territory; as William de Poitiers tells us, the Normans found them 'to join battle with burning zeal; while they fight they rage furiously; accustomed to press, they give way stubbornly.' The Conqueror must have welcomed such auxiliaries, and at Hastings they were on the left wing under Alan of Brittany. They seem to have been represented in this county by two tenants in chief, Alured of Lincoln and Godelin Brito; and perhaps by four undertenants, Judichel, Mortuing, Riwallo or Rualon, and Wenelinc; curiously, these four all held on the Beauchamp fief. Among tenants in chief four are clearly Flemings, Gilbert of Ghent, Walter Fleming, Gunfrid and Sigar de Cioches; but the names of the smaller men are less distinctive than in the cases of Bretons.

§ 154.

i. **Acad de Ivri**, undertenant of Beauchamp at Aspley, has left no trace in the county as yet noted. It is possible that some relationship to Hugh (pincerna) de Ivri and to Roger de Ivri may have been the ground on which St. Walery, the inheritor of the Ivri fief, obtained the manor of Aspley in the xijth century.*

* Ellis: *Introd. to D.B.*, i, 226.

b. *B.H.R.S.*, i, 9; v, 226.

ii. **Adelaide de Grentmesnil** (Ped. IV), see Hugh de Grentmesnil (§ 160, vi).

iii. **Adelulf chamberlain** of Bishop Odo, according to Freeman "may have been an English Æthelwulf, but he is more likely an adventurer from Flanders where the name is also found." Whatever his origin may have been, he is probably the Bishop's chamberlain Adelold (the two names are often confused in D.B.), who held largely from him in Kent,^c and appears as his surety in a convention made by Odo between 1087 and 1100 which names several of his household.^e From the date of this document it would seem likely that he had followed his patron into exile; involved in Odo's disgrace he had apparently ceased to be undertenant in Totternhoe 265 before 1086.

iv. **Ælfgifu Abbess of Barking** seems to have ruled this house in 1086, but little is known of its early history. She received a confirmation charter of the Conqueror, probably given in 1066, as he stayed at Barking during the building of the Tower of London. The Abbey continued to hold Lidlinton till the Dissolution.

v. **Æthelsige (Ailsī), Abbot of Ramsey**,^a a monk of Old Minster at Winchester, in 1061 was hallowed as Abbot of St. Augustine in Canterbury, and was later appointed by King Edward to be also Abbot of Ramsey, an office which he seems to have held jointly with his predecessor Æthelwine (Ailwyn). In 1066, at the moment when the Northmen harried the north of England and William threatened invasion of the south, Harold was struck down by illness; the dead Confessor King appeared to Æthelsige in a vision, bidding him bear to Harold a message of comfort and encouragement. At the Conquest the Abbot was confirmed in his dignities; he was employed on a political mission to Sweyn, King of Denmark, which seems to have averted an invasion of England; during his return voyage, he beheld another vision which enjoined the celebration of the Feast of the Conception of the B.V.M. (declared to be Immaculate by a later age); its observance spread from Ramsey Abbey throughout Christendom. Later he seems to have fallen into disfavour with the Conqueror, and to have fled to Denmark about 1070; eventually he returned to England, regaining Ramsey, for which he obtained a confirmation charter of its possessions in 1077^b; but ceased to be Abbot of St. Augustine. He died in 1087.—Of the Abbey's possessions in this county, Cranfield Pegsdon Shillington and Barton were still held by it at the Dissolution; Holwell Clifton and Little Barford appear with them at the Taxatio Ecclesiastica of 1288-1291.

vi. **Albert of Lorraine** (Alberic, Lothariensis), was one of the foreign clerics introduced by Edward^d, who showed great favour to churchmen from Lorraine; of at least two such he made English bishops, and appointed others to high office, possibly in order to introduce continental methods into his secretariat, the germ of the future Chancery^f. Albert became chaplain to the Conqueror, and at D.B. held three churches in

Rutland (which came at his death before 1096 to Westminster Abbey^h) besides lands in Middlesex and Herefordshire. He is probably the Albertus clericus who, like some others attached to the Court, held a little land on the royal demesne at Windsorⁱ. In this county he held Chalgrave both before and after the Conquest; at D.B. he held also the manor of Wootton, with lesser lands at Shelton (in Marston and Wootton) and Sharnbrook. The Lorrainers—Loharengs or Loring—whom he succeeded in all these four villis, may perhaps not have been direct descendants, but were probably of his kin.

vii. **Alured of Lincoln** (Alfred) is little more than a bare name. Mr. Round acutely argues^m that he was of Breton origin, and identical with the Alured Brito who held a large estate in Devonⁿ, though Freeman^o claimed him as an Englishman for his name. His Bedfordshire land appears to be that which fell to the Honour of Peverel of Dover in Wymington. In default of definite information, we may assume that the Alured of Lincoln, who attested charters of Henry I and appears in 1130^p, was his son, and that another who appears largely in the Red Book was his grandson, but there is no trace of either in this county.

viii. **Ansgot de Roucestre** (Rochester, the site of the Bishop's Castle) held from the Bishop of Bayeux lands in Eversholt and Milton Brian, still traceable in 1284-6 as under the barony of Rochester, which then represented a part at least of Bishop Odo's fief. Of Ansgot, who held also in Kent from the same overlord, no mention has been noticed after D.B.; I suspect him to be the same man as Ansgot 'de Ros' who was undertenant of the Bishop in Preston Bisset co. Bucks.

ix. **Azelina Taillebois** (Ped. VI), see Ralf Taillebois.

§ 155.

i. **Baldwin, Abbot of St. Edmund**, originally a monk of St. Denys, was later Prior of its Cell at Deerhurst co. Glouc. A man of marked spirituality, skilled in medicine and physician to a sickly King, he was made Abbot of St. Edmund by Edward in 1065, and confirmed by William in 1067^q. He found his Abbey Church, built of timber towards 1032, to be unworthy of so great a monastery, and obtained royal permission to rebuild it with stone from Barnack quarries free of toll; this led to trouble with Turolf, Abbot of Peterborough (§ 166 iv), who claimed the toll and hampered the transport of the stone, but was brought to book by royal writ^r. On the appointment of Herfast to the see of Thetford, this Bishop claimed over St. Edmund's Abbey a jurisdiction stoutly resisted by its Abbot; Baldwin even journeyed to Rome, and obtained from Pope Alexander II in 1071 a bull to confirm his House's exemption from episcopal authority. This proving an insufficient protection, St. Edmund himself intervened by striking the Bishop with blindness; Herfast came to Bury, confessed his fault in full congregation, and was

c. Freeman, N.C., v, 749.

d. D.B. (R.C.), 7 b, etc.

e. Round, Cal. Doc. France, 530.

f. Regesta, i, nos. 240 and xxxix.

g. Freeman: N.C., iii, 358, 359; iv, 135-138, 747-750.

h. Hist. Rames. (R.S. 83), 200.

i. Round: Commune of London, 36-38.

j. Regesta, i, pp. xii, xiii.

k. Regesta, i, no. 381.

l. D.B. (R.C.), 56b.

m. Round: F. E., 327-328.

n. D.B. (R.C.), 115b, 116.

o. Freeman: N. C., iv, 214.

p. P.R. 1130 (R.C.), 15, 16.

q. Regesta, i, no. 12.

r. Regesta, i, nos. 369 and lix. Two pillars, marked with St. Edmund's arrows, at Gunwade Ferry on the Nene River where the stone was loaded into barges, commemorate this transaction: they are shown on the Ordnance Survey under their local names of Robin Hood and Little John. Some Caen stone seems also to have been imported for the work, presumably for the finer carving.

cured by the absolution (and medicines) of the victorious Abbot. The quarrel was finally settled by the King in full Council in 1081, but it must be regretfully noted that the Abbey thought well to forge a charter for the greater security of its claim*. Baldwin died in 1093†; the only lands which he certainly held in Bedfordshire were attached to the Seneschaley of the Abbey,—Kene-mondwick 49 and Blunham 50″. For a half hide in Biddenham 48 his protection was claimed, but it is not clear that he had any rights in it.

ii. **Burnard** is recorded as holding the manor of Arlesey (97) under William de Ow, and Bernard as undertenant of Hugh de Beauchamp in Astwick and of Azelina Taillebois in Henlow. As Astwick and Henlow both touch Arlesey, it is probable that all three entries refer to one man, and that the two latter holdings were absorbed into the manor. Burnard's descendants, under the surname of Burnard, continued to hold in Arlesey till the end of the xijth. century; they acquired also lands in Everton, apparently those of Ranulf brother of Ilger at D.B., and in Beeston, apparently by marriage in the last half of the xijth. century.

iii. **David de Argentoin** (de Argentomo, but the spelling of the last syllable is doubtful), the only man of his name in D.B., is presumably the founder of a family which attained some importance in other counties at a later date, on lands other than his. The name-place, Argentan, is in the department of Orne. Besides his little holding 'de Rege' in Riseley 287, the fate of which has not yet been traced, he held some land in Cambridge-shire, where he succeeded 'men' of the Earls Waltheof and Algar*.

§ 156.

i. **Erfast**, undertenant of Nigel d'Albini, appears under the name of Arfast among the prudhommes (prudentum hominum) who were in attendance on Henry d'Albini when ratifying a gift of lands in Stratton to Abingdon Abbey, before 1117*. His son, Nigel son of Erfast, attested a charter of the same Henry to Sopwell Nunnery*.

ii. **Ernuin priest** (Earnwine) appears as holding scraps of land among the King's thanes and almsmen in the counties of Yorks., Derbs., Lincs., and Notts.; in Lincoln city he claimed to hold a manse which had been of Earl Morkere. But he had assuredly seen better days under Edward; in Stanford he had held twenty manses and two churches; and in Lincoln he claimed the church and lands of All Saints as the inheritance of Godric son of Garewine his kinsman, who had apparently become a monk of Peterborough. There is a curious entry of a man who held land "on the day that Ernuin priest was captured, and before that."* His connection with Lincoln continued after the Conquest, for he held at D.B. five virgates from its Bishop in Biddenham 39, which still belonged to that See in 1278-9. He must surely have been a churchman of importance, since as tenant in chief he ends the tale of Bishops Abbots and such like,

preceding not only all laymen, but even a notable cleric like Albert of Lorraine (classed among laymen). His paternal inheritance in Harrowden (67), no further trace has yet been found; his tenure seems to have been irregular and was probably terminated.

iii. **Ernulf de Arde** (Ped. IV) was son of Ernulf lord of Ardres, close to Guisnes in the Pas de Calais; he appears in this county as undertenant of Eustace Count of Boulogne. His Bedfordshire lands remained long with his descendants under the Honour of Boulogne, passing with his granddaughter Cristiana to the Counts of Guisnes by a marriage which healed a family feud of long standing. He went on Crusade in 1097, but was still alive in 1117. By his marriage with Gertrude, sister of Baldwin of Alost, he became brother in law of Gilbert de Gand. The account of his family and lands given by Freeman* has been corrected by Round*.

iv. **Ernulf de Hesding** (Ped. V) of Hesdin in the Pas de Calais, held in chief in eleven counties, as well as undertenancies. He was a benefactor of Norman religious houses, from a charter to one of which (1094 to 1100) it appears that he had 'sons' (in charters this word is apt to include sons in law) and that his 'son' William and daughter Ava consented to the gift. This 'son' is probably the son in law William who married his daughter Matilda (see below), and the daughter Ava or Avelina who married firstly Alan son of Fleald and later Robert son of Walter. He appears to have founded a small priory at Ruislip*, where he held land at D.B.; with his wife Emmeline he made to St. Peter Gloucester grants which were confirmed by Patrie de Chaworth and his wife Matilda. William of Malmesbury describes him as 'wonderful in agricultural shrewdness, wonderful in generous relief of poverty'; and relates how, when smitten by a grievous ailment which deprived him of the use of his hands and defied a noted physician, he was cured by balsam from St. Aldhelm's tomb*. Accused of complicity in Mowbray's rebellion of 1095, he was more fortunate than William de Ow (infra, § 169), for in the judicial combat his champion was victorious; but, in disgust at the calumny, he threw up everything in England in spite of the King (abdicatis omnibus que regis erant in Anglia ipso rege inuito et contradicente) and joined the Crusade of 1097; reaching Antioch, he fell sick and died, refusing to see a physician but trusting in the Lord*. Of Ernulf's brother Ilbod, who held de Rege in Bereford (Barford co. Oxon), nothing further appears to have been traced.

In 1138 Ernulf's grandson, William fitz Alan fitz Fleald, then Constable of Shrewsbury, revolted against Stephen, leaving his uncle Ernulf de Hesding, 'a warlike and venturesome knight,' in charge of the castle. After a vigorous resistance it was surrendered; Ernulf, in the manner usual with Barons taken in revolt, offered a ransom, but Stephen for once was thorough and hung him and ninety three more. There can be little doubt that this was a son of the D.B. Ernulf, but he has only been traced as holding Chivelai (Keevil, co. Wilts.) out of all his father's D.B. possessions*. He seems to have left

ward and the Fen-men in 1070-1071, but his name does not seem to have been recorded even in legend.

s. Regesta, i, nos. 138, 137.
t. Ang. Sax. Chron. ii, 202.
u. B.H.R.S., v, 61-73.
v. D.B. (R.C.), i, 202.
w. Hist. Abingdon (R.S. 2), ii, 100.
x. Mon. Angl. iii, 364.
z. D.B., i, 347b. His association with Lincoln Stamford and Peterborough suggests that he may have been concerned in the rising of Here-

a. Freeman: N. C., iii, 713, 714.
b. Round: F. E., 462-464.
c. Cal. Doc. France, 481-2, no. 1326.
d. Mon. Angl. vi (vii), 1050.
e. Gesta Pontiff. (R.S. 52), 437, 438.
f. Liber de Hyda (R.S. 45), 301, 302.
g. P.R. 1130 (Rec. Com.), 18.

a son, the third Ernulf, who in 1141 attested a charter of the Empress Matilda to Miles, Earl of Hereford^h.

It is not yet clear whether the D.B. estates of the first Ernulf were escheated on his voluntary exile or on the second Ernulf's execution, whether the daughters were allowed to inherit at some point or received a special grant. But most of the lands are from now onwards held by them or their descendants, the families of fitz Alan, of Patric Earl of Salisbury, and of Chaworth (de Cadurcis). In this county Ernulf's important manor of Toddington passed to the Honour of Chaworth and thus through Salisbury to Perche; his ten acres in Chalgrave were probably adjacent to and absorbed in that manor, as they disappear. There can be little doubt that Matilda wife of Patric de Chaworth was the daughter of Ernulf; he undoubtedly had a daughter Matilda, who in her widowhood gave to St. Alban lands in Hara (Hare or Herne in Toddington) for the soul of her husband Williamⁱ; and she probably re-married Patric de Chaworth, for he with his wife, known from other sources to have been a Matilda, made to Dunstable Priory a grant in Chalton, also a hamlet of Toddington; in the absence of direct statement, one can hardly expect better evidence, when the available dates are not in conflict with the suggestion.

§ 157.

i. Eudo the dapifer (Eudo son of Hubert, Ped. III) was son of Hubert de Ric (Ryes in Calvados), who had earned the gratitude of William by helping him when flying for his life in his troublous youth. Eudo was one of several brothers, all of whom attained some eminence after the Conquest; he himself first appears as Dapifer about 1072. Before the death of the Conqueror had become generally known, he secured the Treasury at Winchester, and the castles of Dover Pevensey and Hastings, in the King's name, and thus ensured the succession of Rufus, who retained him in his office^j. As farmer of the city and constable of the castle of Colchester, he appears, according to Freeman, to have been "one of the very few Normans in high authority who knew how to win the love and confidence of the conquered English." About 1096 he founded the great Abbey of St. John in Colchester, and watched over its rise with devotion. For the last fifteen years of his life he was blind, and lived at his castle of Préaux, dying there in 1120. He married Roheise, a daughter of Richard son of Count Gilbert of Brionne, the founder of the great house of Clare, but left no direct heir.

His extensive holding in this county had been built up mainly from that of Ulmar thane of Eaton and his 'men'; but in this, as in some lands in other counties, his immediate predecessor was Lisois de Moustiers (Beeston 115). The devolution of this Bedfordshire estate, the future barony of Beauchamp of Eaton, has been discussed in these volumes^k.

ii. Eustace, Count of Boulogne (Ped. VII), the Second, known as Eustace 'aux Grenons' from his moustaches, married as her second husband Godgifu (Goda), sister of King Edward the Confessor. He seems to have been of turbulent character; after a visit to his brother in law in 1051 he became embroiled with the townspeople of Dover over compulsory billeting, and was driven out of the town with the loss of several men;

on his complaint to Edward, that King ordered Earl Godwine to harry the town in punishment; Godwine rightly refused to harry his own men, and was banished by the Witan with all his sons, but they compelled the King to pardon them in the following year, civil war being narrowly escaped. Eustace, always discontented, eagerly embraced William's cause at the Conquest, and fought well at Hastings, cutting off the Saxons who pursued William's feigned retreat, and at a later moment helping to break the shield-wall. Within a year, however, he headed a rebellion in Kent against the new King; endeavouring to avenge himself on Dover, he was again beaten off, this time with great loss, and owed his pardon to William's politic long-sufferance. At Bishop Odo's ill fated attempt to place Robert 'Curthose,' Duke of Normandy, on the English throne in 1088, Eustace as a great Kentish landowner was on his side, and with him was compelled to surrender at Rochester; after this he does not seem to have troubled this country further. In 1057 he married as second wife (Saint) Ida, daughter of Godfrey le Barbu, Duke of Lower Lorraine; she died in 1113, having borne to him Eustace (III) Count of Boulogne, and Godfrey and Baldwin de Bouillon afterwards Kings of Jerusalem. He also left a son Geoffrey, probably illegitimate, who married a daughter of Geoffrey de Mandeville, and was ancestor of a later Bedfordshire notable, Faramus of Boulogne, long lord of Eaton Bray. Eustace died in 1093; his lands in this county were not very extensive, and came to form part of the Honour of Boulogne.

§ 158.

i. Geoffrey de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances (Ped. VIII), was member of a distinguished family which took name from Montbray in the canton of Perci (Manche). He became Bishop in 1048, and at once took an active part in the building of the new cathedral; it was consecrated in 1056, and the see removed thither from St. Lo (of which he sometimes attests as Bishop). Orderic tells how he "plumed himself on his noble birth and throve by military rather than by clerkly skill, and so knew better how to train mailed warriors to fight than cowed clerks to chaunt." Notably he broke the revolt of the West Saxons in 1069 at Montacute near Yeovil, and, with the other fighting Bishop, Odo, defeated the rebellious Earl Ralf of Norfolk in 1075; for such services (and he was at Hastings also, probably in a military capacity) he received enormous estates, especially in the West Country, where he seems to have built Bristol Castle. In 1088 he joined the movement to put Duke Robert on the English throne, but was pardoned, and died in 1093, leaving as heir his 'nephew' Robert de Mowbray whose exact relationship to him is uncertain. He was not infrequently employed as a judge, and sometimes as what may be described as an ecclesiastical commissioner, holding pleas of church lands and communicating his decision to the D.B. Commissioners. His Bedfordshire lands, all in the north of the county, seem to have been broken up among various estates.

ii. Geoffrey de Traillgi (Tralgi, later Trailly etc.) was doubtless so styled from Trelly near Coutances, from the Bishop of which he was undertenant in Yilden, and also on an unnamed holding in Willey Hundred which is rightly assigned by Dr. Round to Chellington.

h. Rymer: Foedera (1810), i, 14.

i. Mon. Ang., ii, 220. Compare Cal. Doc. France, pp. 364-366.

j. This story is rejected by Freeman (Rufus, ij, 463-465) on grounds which seem inadequate.

k. B.H.R.S., i, 66-70; ij, 63-65.

These two villas at some later date (before 1166) were put under the Honour of Gloucester and were still so held by the Traillys in the ninth century. Geoffrey (or perhaps his son Geoffrey) married one of the three co-heiresses of William Spech (§ 170); her share of the Spech fief was thus added to the fees held under the Honour of Gloucester to make up the 'Barony of Trailly' of 1242.

iii. **Gilbert, Abbot of Westminster**, Gilbert Crispin, was probably cousin of Miles Crispin (§ 161). Trained in the Abbey of Bec by Lanfranc and Anselm, two successive Archbishops of Canterbury, he served as chaplain to Lanfranc, and was appointed to Westminster about 1085, being about 40 years of age; he ruled the Abbey well and wisely till his death in 1117. Some charming letters from Anselm to him have been preserved. His successor, the Dean of 1910, writes of him: "He was a true monk and scholar, with no desire for fame; his vocation and his instincts alike made him shrink from public affairs. His Westminster sons remembered him . . . chiefly for his gentleness, and they wrote the epithet 'mitis' on his tomb before they praised his justice wisdom strength and learning." The family of Crispin is dealt with at some length in Dean Robinson's work already cited. The Abbey retained the manor of Great Holwell till the end of the xvth century, after which its overlordship has not been traced.

iv. **Gilbert de Blosseville**, undertenant of Countess Judith in Harrold, probably drew his name from Blosseville by Rouen. His descendants are traceable at Harrold till 1232, and in the county till at least 1262^m. His only other holding at D.B. was also from Countess Judith and in Lavendon co. Bucks., probably in that post-Domesday village on which he has stamped his name as Newton Blossomville, where, as in Harrold, the family was replaced by Ralf Morin.

§ 159.

i. **Gilbert de Gand** (Ped. IV), son of Ralf and brother of Baldwin lord of Alost in Flanders, was a captain in charge of York Castle when first built, and one of the few survivors of the massacre of its garrison in 1069 by the Danes and revolted English under Earl Wulfward (§ 168). He refounded the ruined Abbey at Bardney co. Lincs., and gave to it after 1086 the church of Edlesborough, the only place (then) in this county where he held land. He is said to have died in 1094, but the important family which he founded flourished (elsewhere than in this county) till the reign of Edward I. Legend and romance have been busy with his name.

ii. **Gilbert son of Salomon** besides his holdings in Bedfordshire 'de Rege,' had land also at Felstead co. Essex. As these are the three holdings which later are attached to the Larderership, he probably already held some such office. The descent of this serjeanty, and his successors, have been already traced in these volumes.ⁿ

iii. **Gozelin (Goscelin) Brito**, one of the Conqueror's Breton auxiliaries, was rewarded by lands in Bedfordshire (Potsgrove and Gladley), Buckinghamshire (Cublington and elsewhere), and Gloucestershire. These

identify his son as the Hugh son of Gozelin who gave the advowson of Cublington and land in Gladley to Dunstable Priory^o, and married a daughter of Roger de Chesney, by Alice de Langerot of Campton (§ 164, iii); their son took his mother's name, and eventually transmitted the lands to the Lucy family.

iv. **Gunfrid de Cioches** had only a small holding in Hinwick, which appears^p to have been given to the Hospitallers; but his extensive estates elsewhere, especially in Northamptonshire, fell into the Honour of Chokes, returned by (his grandson?) Robert de Chokes in 1166 as a barony of fifteen knights^q. His possible relationships are sketched below under Siger de Cioches (§ 166).

v. **Gunter, Abbot of Thorney**, was appointed by William in 1085, and held his office till his death in 1112. He largely rebuilt the more or less ruinous timber church of the Abbey which had been founded in 972, completing his work about 1108-9, and some of it stands to this day. His manor of Bohurst remained with the monastery till the Dissolution.

§ 160.

i. **Henry son of Azor**, judged by his father's name (which, as Atsere, was fairly common in Saxon time) was probably an Englishman, permitted to hold 'de Rege' a single hide:—possibly the son of that Adzor, who with Wulfward the White and other English attested a charter of William in 1068^r, again possibly of that Azor dispenser of King Edward to whom William granted a hide in chief, but whom Robert d'Oilli forced to be his undertenant, the Hundred protesting.^s

ii. **Herbert son of Ivo** was a considerable undertenant of the Bishop of Bayeux in Kent, and to a less extent in Herts. and Beds. He seems to have had little scruple in annexing church property; he seized a mill from the Canons of St. Martin in Dover for which he paid to the Bishop the considerable sum of a mark of gold^t, and he occupied a hide in [Abbot's] Langley which belonged to St. Alban^u. But he became a monk of St. Augustine Canterbury in 1079, and endowed it with lands^v. The lands which he held in this county fell to the Honour of Peverel of Dover.

iii. **Hugh de Beauchamp** (Ped. VI) and his fief have already been discussed in these volumes.^w

iv. **Hugh de Bolebec**, undertenant of Walter Giffard, was probably a kinsman (a brother, according to A. S. Ellis) of his overlord, whose father Osbern de Bolebec also took his name from the little beck which joins the river Seine near its mouth. In a charter which Dr. Round assigns to 1080, Hugh and others granted the church of Bolbec to Bernay abbey, a gift confirmed by Walter Giffard and another overlord^x. Hugh's three holdings in this county were transmitted to his descendants; at Woburn his (?) grandson Hugh founded the Abbey in 1145; his lands at Maulden and Marston were carried by marriage to the de Vere Earls of Oxford about 1190.

v. **Hugh Fleming**, see Walter Fleming § 167, and § 24.

l. J. Armitage Robinson: Gilbert Crispin, Cambridge, 1911, 8vo.
m. B.H.R.S., vi, 91, no. 340; vi, 175, no. 622.
n. B.H.R.S., iii, 251; v, 229, 230.
o. Dunstable Cart., fo. 23.
p. V. C. H. Beds., iii, 85.
q. Liber Rubeus, 334.
r. Regesta, i, no. 23.

s. D.B., i, 62.
t. D.B., i, 2.
u. D.B., i, 135b.
v. Stevens: Additions to Mon. Ang., i, 316.
w. B.H.R.S., i, 2, 64-70.
x. Cal. Doc. France, 137, no. 412, and pp. xxvi, xxvii.

vi. **Hugh de Grentmaisnil** (Ped. IV) derived his name from Grand Mesnil in Calvados. Born of a distinguished and pious family, he and his brother Robert refounded the ruined abbey of St. Evroult in 1050. After Hastings he was placed in charge of the city of Leicester where he owned a very large part of the Burgh in 1086. He was also governor of Winchester, and of so much of Wessex as William held. There seems to be a doubt whether he died in 1093 or 1098. Adeliza his wife, noted in her day for great beauty, is one of the few wives who appear as tenant in chief at D.B., having apparently received a personal grant from the Conqueror; she died seven years before her husband. They left a large family,—five not very satisfactory sons, of whom the eldest, Ivo, succeeded his father, and married a daughter of Gilbert de Gand. Neither the Conqueror nor his immediate successors would permit in this country that private warfare between their Barons which was one of the worst features of the feudal system on the continent; Ivo set an example of it in England, was tried, and banished in 1101; he died on the way to the Crusade, and, though he left an heir, the Grentmaisnil lands fell by two different paths to the Earls of Leicester, to whose Honour some of Adeliza's Bedfordshire lands are found to belong at a later date. It is to be noted that Hugh de Beauchamp had received lands in Goldington Salpho and Cople (§ 123) in exchange for Ware co. Herts.; as this was held in D.B. by Hugh de Grentmaisnil, it may be presumed that the exchanged lands were granted to the latter at the Conquest, but he held nothing in this county in 1086.

vii. **Hugh Hubald**, as undertenant of Osbern son of Richard of Richard's Castle, had four small holdings in the north east; and appears to have left descendants on his land, for Henry Hubaut is still to be found at Elvendon in 1220⁷; and as Henry Hubolt he also held in 1210-1212 a half fee in co. Salop from the Honour of Richard's Castle¹. The small and single holding at Elvendon enables us reasonably to identify as one of this family the Hugh camerarius who made a gift there to Chicksand Priory about the middle of the xijth century², but it does not appear whose chamberlain he may have been. The fact that in 1166 William Huhalt shares a half knight's fee of the Honour of Bedford³ seems to suggest that Osbern's small lordship may have been acquired by the Beauchamps.

viii. **Hugh nephew of Herbert son of Ivo** affords one of the few instances in this county of an undertenant sub-letting to a 'rear vassal.' He held also on the fief of the Bishop of Bayeux in Kent and elsewhere, and is the subject of an interesting record:—"At the entrance of Dover harbour is a mill which wrecks nearly all ships in a heavy swell, and does very great damage to the King and his men. It was not there T.R.E. Of this the nephew of Herbert saith that the Bishop of Bayeux gave permission for its erection to his uncle Herbert son of Ivo."⁴ This seems to have been an early tidal mill. His Bedfordshire land passed to the Honour of Peverel of Dover.

ix. **Hugh pincerna** or de Ivri (Ped. IV) was Butler in the Norman Household before 1066, and still attests charters as pincerna in 1082. Roger de Ivri, pincerna in the English Household, was probably his brother. Hugh's estates presumably lay principally in Normandy, but he held the important manor of Ambrosden co. Oxon.; beyond this he held only three hides in Staughton and Segresdone, which have not been traced at any later date, and were presumably absorbed into one of the other holdings.

§ 161.

i. **Ivo Taillebois** (Ped. VI), a name familiar to all readers of Hereward the Wake (a noble saga, but most unscrupulous 'history'), was a considerable landholder in Lincolnshire as lord of Spalding, and held also in Norfolk. He attests charters frequently from 1080 onwards, and from 1091 as dapifer Regis, but died or at least lost his lands before 1098¹. It appears from a charter to Spalding Priory², which he refounded, that his wife Lucy had as antecessor (not necessarily ancestor) the Saxon Thorold of Bukenhale. But the Ingulf forger and other romancers of the time (whom Kingsley followed) have been busy with the family; Lucy has had numerous husbands fathers and children assigned to her, and is best left as a bare name. It is probable that Ivo was a brother of Ralf Taillebois, so conspicuous in pre-Domesday Bedfordshire. Though in 1086 Ivo held merely a half hide in Goldington as undertenant of the Bishop of Lincoln (probably absorbed into the Beauchamp manor later), he seems to have been at one time Sheriff of the County (§ 76).

ii. **John des Roches** appears only as the predecessor of Nigel de Albini in Barton (53) and Maulden (190), and there seems to be no further reference to him in D.B.

iii. **Judith the Countess** (Ped. I) was daughter of Lambert of Artois, and of Adelaide sister (or half sister) of the Conqueror. Given by William in marriage to Earl Waltheof (§ 168), she is said by Orderic to have accused her husband of treachery for his cognisance of the plot of the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk in 1075. Her motive is not clear, and it seems certain that Waltheof himself had confessed his complicity before her accusation was brought. But the legends which sanctified him as the last Saxon Earl fastened upon her alleged betrayal, and it is not now possible to clear her memory. That she faced the King in order to beg her husband's corpse for his foundation of Croyland Abbey is beyond doubt, and her generous endowment of the Abbey at Elstow also suggests that she may have been unfairly treated by history. She granted land in Potton to St. Alban for the souls of her dead husband and others³. Her extensive estate⁴ in this county passed with her daughter Matilda to the Earls of Huntingdon, and appears for some centuries as part of the Honour of Huntingdon.

iv. **Lisois de Moustiers**, "a bold soldier nicknamed de Monasteriis" (says Orderic), claims remembrance for having found and forced a ford on the river

y. B.H.R.S., vi, 59, no. 243.

z. Liber Rubens, 603.

a. B.H.R.S., i, 118, 121.

b. Liber Rubens, 321.

c. D.B., i, 1.

d. Regesta, i, nos. 408, 409.

e. Add MS. B.M., 35206, fo. 8.

f. John de Trokelowe (R.S. 28, iii), 447.

g. Though D.B. does not say so, Potton with Hatley and Charlton had probably been assigned to her husband by Harold in 1065 or 1066, together with Tostig's Earldom of Northants, and Huuts., and possibly were part of her dower. Potton is twice described as her proprium manerium (322, 323), which indicates its different status from the other manors granted to her by William; but it was not her own by grant of King Edward, for she did not marry Waltheof till 1069; it was probably therefore re-granted to her after his execution.

Aire, of which the swollen state had held back King William's army for three weeks in 1069; William was thus enabled to march on York, to disperse the Danes and English, and to achieve that pitiless devastation of Yorkshire, the effects of which lasted for centuries. Lisois was rewarded by a considerable estate, in which he was succeeded before 1086 by Eudo dapifer^h—part therefore of the future fief of Beauchamp of Eaton. As Lisois does not appear as a living tenant in D.B., he was presumably dead; or possibly only forfeited and banished; and a Lisois de Monast[eris], who owed a considerable sum in 1130 on succession to his father's lands in Yorkshire, is perhaps his son or grandson.

v. Miles Crispin (Ped. II), of a family nicknamed from their crisped hair, was probably cousin of the noted Gilbert Crispin abbot of Westminster (§ 158), and son of the second Gilbert of the family. His Domesday estates were largely built up from the lands of two Saxons, Brihtric (Beorhtric) in Beds. and Bucks., Wigod thane of Wallingford in Oxon. and Berks., but of the latter's lands some were held at D.B. by Robert d'Oilli. Wigod seems to have made his submission to the Conqueror when he crossed the Thames at Wallingford on his march to London in 1066, and to have retained at least some of his lands till his death (some time before 1086). His son Tokig was killed at King William's side in 1080, and, according to the usual account, the bulk of his lands passed to Robert d'Oilli who had married Wigod's daughter (? Ealdgyth or Edith), and to Miles Crispin who had married their daughter Matilda. Such is the official story returned to the Exchequer by the Constable of Wallingford in 1212ⁱ; it is consistent with our entry 99a (Table I, Col. xxiii, Milton Ernest), which shows that Robert d'Oilli preceded Miles in the tenure of Clapham; but a further statement that, on the death of Miles, Matilda married Brian fitz Count is open to suspicion, for he lived on into Stephen's reign; it is more probable that he married her daughter of the same name (a pitfall for genealogists in all centuries), and this guess has been adopted in Pedigree II below. Miles certainly held the castle and honour of Wallingford, and died in 1107. The devolution of his Bedfordshire lands has been discussed in B.H.R.S. v, 239-242.

§ 162.

i. Nigel de Albini (Albingi, Albeneio, etc.) (Ped. VIII), the only one of his name in D.B., according to Dr. Round came from (St. Martin d') Aubigny near Coutances. While there is no doubt that his family held lands in that district^k, the collocation of the place-names of overlord and knight at Aubin St. Vast near Hesdin in Artois, suggests that both may have come from there, and that St. Martin d'Aubigny may have been named from the family, and not the converse. As the early history of this family, de Albini or Daubeny, who held from Cainhoe in Clophill the second largest barony in this county, is still somewhat obscure, it will not be out of place to discuss them in some detail, and to present a tentative pedigree (Ped. VIII).

Nigel was son^l of Roger de Albini, who made a grant to Lessay abbey in 1084, and of Avice who was probably sister of Geoffrey de Mowbray the Bishop of Coutances, sister also of Roger de Mowbray a notable Norman at the Conquest. Other sons of Nigel were Rualloc and William, named in the charters already cited. Nigel's wife Amice is said to have been daughter of Henry de Ferrieres, but the present writer is not aware of the evidence for this statement. She appears with Nigel in a charter granted with the assent of the Conqueror^m, by which he gave to St. Alban for the Cell at Wallingford ten hides and the church in West Henreth (Hendred, co. Berks.), and 30s. in Waryngforth (Wallingford, co. Berks.) where as 'Nigel' he had held a haga in 1086; reference to D.B.ⁿ shows that this grant was made before our record was compiled. The same charter shows also Richard de Albini, Abbot of St. Alban 1097-1119, as his brother, whose activities may be read in the chronicles of that House^o.

Henry de Albini, Nigel's heir, succeeded to the fief at some date before 1117, and gave land in Stratton (Biggleswade) to Abingdon Abbey in the days of Fariatus, abbot 1100-1117^p. With his brothers William and Nigel (II) he granted the church at Clappehille (Clop-hill) and tithe of Cota and Kegenho (Westcotts and Cainhoc) to St. Alban, and confirmed the gifts of his father Nigel in Henred and Wallingford^q, as well as land at Wybaldyngton^r (traced through varied spellings, this appears to represent Nigel's D.B. holding at Wyboston). He occurs in the Leicestershire Survey of 1124-1129^s.

Robert (I), the son of Henry and Secilia (Cecilia) founded the little Priory of Beaulieu (de Bello Loco) at Moddry in Clophill, as a Cell of St. Alban, moving thither a handful of monks from Millbrook, apparently between 1140 and 1146^t; his memory was kept green, for when about 1427-8 the priory was dissolved and its revenues largely used for poor scholars at Oxford, one of them was bound pray 'signally and specially' for Robert's soul^u. He returned his carta of knights on the d'Albini fief in 1166^v. 'Stephen' de Albini who appears as the father of this Robert in one document^w seems to be due to a wrong expansion by a copyist of S., standing in his original for Secilia, Henry's wife and Robert's mother; the name is thus spelt in a charter of Robert to Beaulieu, and she appears as 'S. the mother of Robert' in another Colchester charter. Dr. Round has called attention to the fact that she was a daughter of Patric de Chaworth^x. From this point the Cainhoe pedigree presents no difficulty, but in an attempt to clear up this rather troublesome family, a few notes on two cadets will be added.

William, described in charters as the brother of Henry, seems to be William de Albini pincerna, butler of Henry I, who conferred on him a rich estate^y; he married Maud daughter of Roger Bigot, and founded the Priory of Wymondham co. Norf. as a Cell to St. Alban. His son William de Albini who succeeded to his office of

h. Round: F. E., 460. In B.H.R.S., i, 69, line 18, the reference is wrongly phrased; it is really the exception of Beeston which implies the succession of Eudo in other lands.

i. P.R., 1130 (R.C.) 26.

j. Bk. Fees (R.S.), i, 116.

k. Cal. Doc. France, 328, no. 920.

l. Cal. Doc. France, 330, no. 923.

m. Mon. Angl., iii, 279.

n. D.B., 59b.

o. Gesta Abbatum (R.S., 28, iv), i, 66-72.

p. Hist. Abingdon (R.S. 2), ii, 100.

q. John de Trokelowe, Appendix (R.S. 28, iii), 451.

r. Id., 447.

s. Round: F. E., 213.

t. Mon. Angl., iii, 276, 277.

u. John de Amundesham (R.S., 28, v), ii, 292.

v. Liber Rubeus, 324.

w. Cartul. St. John Colchester, p. 179.

x. Ancestor, xii, 149.

y. Liber Rubeus, 397.

pincerna, married between 1135 and 1139 Adeliza the second Queen of Henry I, and became Earl of Arundel¹.

Nigel (II) de Albini, also a younger brother of Henry of Cainhoe, adhered to Henry I in his Norman wars, and fought for him at Brémulé (1119) and Montfort (1123). At some unrecorded date subsequent to the imprisonment of his kinsman Robert de Mowbray, the rebel Earl of Northumberland, Nigel married the latter's wife Matilda by special dispensation from Pope Pascal (1099-1118), she being probably a good deal his senior. He seems to have wearied of her, obtained a divorce on the ground of consanguinity, and in 1119 married Gundreda daughter of Gerard de Gournai; he was dead apparently in 1130, when his son [? step-son] Roger, afterwards styled de Mowbray, was still a minor.

As cadets, these men are not easily to be traced by feudal evidence of manorial descent, but links with the Cainhoe line do occur in the case of William pincerna. After the banishment of Odo of Bayeux, Nigel (I) de Albini seems to have somehow acquired his manor of Estwell or Eswale (Eswall in Nonington co. Kent), for he granted it* to St. Alban; and Hasted^b vouches a charter of Stephen by which William de Albini Earl of Arundel confirmed this land to the monastery. Further, from other charters we learn that two of the under-tenants of William de Albini pincerna were characteristic under-tenants of the Cainhoe fief since Domesday,—Nigel del Wast^c (below) and Pirot^d (§ 164).

ii. Nigel de Wast, under-tenant of Nigel d'Albini, according to Dr. Round^e probably took his name from Le Wast to the east of Cherbourg. Besides his Bedfordshire lands he held Towersey, an important manor of Nigel d'Albini in Buckinghamshire. He (or less probably his son) gave besides other things the churches of Mylebrok and Hamptehulle (Millbrook and Ampt-hill) to St. Alban^f the former of which was assigned to the little Priory of Beaulieu in Clophill; as this grant was confirmed by Henry d'Albini^g, it belongs to the first few years of the xijth century. He was one of the prudhommes of Henry d'Albini (suorum prudentium hominum), present to testify before 1117 to a gift of lands in Stratton (Biggleswade) to Abingdon Abbey^h. As one of his knights, he attested a charter of William de Albini pincerna between 1102 and 1109. We find what was probably another generation in the person of William del Wast towards the middle of the xijth century, who attested a confirmation of Robert d'Albini; a later charterⁱ shows that this William had held d'Albini land in Carlton, and seemingly that he had given it and himself to religion^j. No further trace of the family has been noted with certainty.

But from the subsequent history of the lands concerned, it seems more than likely that this Nigel (or his son) was the Nigel de Merstone who appears in the Carta of Robert d'Albini in 1166 and was the first of a family which bore that name for some generations; he gave to St. Alban at an early date the church of Tyrefelde (Turville, co. Bucks.)^k where Nigel d'Albini had held in demesne at D.B.

z. Round : Geoffrey de Mandeville, 316-325; for his descendants see *Compl. Peer.* (ed. 2), i, 237.

a. D.B., i, 6b; Mon. Angl., ii, 220; iii, 279; *Gesta Abbatum* (R.S., 28, iv), i, 438-440. According to Hasted, no less than five of the Bishop's holdings in Kent are found later in the Albini pincerna family, Bilsington, Elham, Eswall, Knotton, and Ringelton. Bilsington appears to be the Bilsintona granted to Boxgrave Priory, the charter to which in Mon. Angl., iv, 645, further links the pincerna branch to the Cainhoe line.

b. Hasted : *History of Kent*, iii, 708.

c. Mon. Angl., i, 164.

§ 163.

i. Odo, Bishop of Bayeux (Ped. I), half-brother of the Conqueror, was trusted and rewarded by him beyond any other man. Consecrated as bishop when quite young in 1049, he, like his fellow Bishop of Coutances, was more warrior than churchman; it is said that he fought at Hastings with the armour of a layman over his ecclesiastical habit, armed with mace instead of sword, to evade the Canon which forbade the shedding of blood by a priest; this account is confirmed by the Bayeux tapestry. He was at once given charge of Dover Castle, and made Earl of Kent; and acted at first as joint, then as sole, Regent of England during William's long and frequent absences in Normandy. For sixteen years he was second only to the King, but not even this contented his ambition; he aspired to be Pope, bought a palace in Rome for the extension of his influence, and, when in 1082 Pope Gregory was besieged by the Emperor, Odo raised a force in England for his relief. It was intolerable that a subject should thus levy an army for foreign aggression, and William, who had been in Normandy, hastily stopped the expedition when about to sail; Odo was impeached before a Council of Barons, and arrested; when he appealed for protection to his Orders, William cynically remarked that he arrested, not the Bishop of Bayeux, but the Earl of Kent. His ambition, long a menace to the King, had to be curbed; imprisoned at Rouen, he was not released till William lay on his deathbed. On the accession of Rufus he was allowed to resume his Earldom, but declared himself in 1088 on the side of Duke Robert against the King; after devastating the royal and archiepiscopal manors of Kent, he was ultimately seized in his castle of Rochester and banished for life. He joined the Crusade in 1096, but died at Palermo in the following year. Orderic, his contemporary, tells something of his character: "What may I say of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, earl palatine, everywhere a terror to all the English, who as he were a second king gave laws on all sides? He had precedence of all earls and of the great men of the realm. . . . Vices were commingled with virtues in this man, unless I err; he cleaved more to worldly action than to the graces of spiritual thought. . . . He was eloquent and great-hearted, bounteous and in secular matters energetic. He did careful honour to men of religion, defended his clergy keenly by sword and speech, and enriched the Church liberally with precious ornament by every means"—at least churches which were manned by Normans, for he did not hesitate to seize property from English monasteries for his followers. Ellis records him as having held 439 manors in D.B., but his lands in Bedfordshire were not very important except Eaton Bray; with that exception, they seem to have fallen on escheat to the Honour of Peverel of Dover, while Eaton Bray became apparently a dower manor of the Crown.

ii. Osbern (Osbert) de Broilg is suggested by Dr. Round to have taken his name from Brouay in Calvados. He was an under-tenant of Hugh de Beauchamp in Bletsoe (148) and Sharnbrook (152), and was un-

d. Lib. Rub., 398; Hasted : *Kent*, iv, 208, 236, 237.

e. V.C.H. Beds., i, 199. But see § 162, i, lines 4-9.

f. Mon. Angl., ii, 220.

g. Mon. Angl., iii, 276.

h. Hist. Abingdon (R.S. 2.), ii, 100.

i. Colchester Cartul., (ed. Roxburgh Club), 179, 180.

j. "Et [terra] cum eo fuit ibi data"; the phrase sometimes means a death bed gift to secure burial at the monastery in the habit of religion.

jj. Mon. Angl., ii, 221.

doubtedly the Osbern who held also in Bletsoe (301) from Countess Judith. For some unexplained reason, the manor was divided into two exactly equal shares between the two overlords; Osbern held from both, and, as no further reference to the Honour of Huntingdon in this vill has been found, it may be presumed that Judith's share was acquired by the Beauchamps. Under the surname of Broy, Osbern's descendants have been traced till at least 1227 as undertenants of the Beauchamp barony in these two vills.

iii. **Osbern son of Richard** was son to Richard Scrob (de Escrop, de Scrupa), who was one of the foreign captains imported by King Edward and proportionately obnoxious to the Saxon; one of the strong colony of Normans planted in the West to restrain the Welsh, he built at the place still called Richard's Castle in Herefordshire the first of those stone castles which later were to play so significant a part in the reduction of England. While most of the Norman nobles were expelled from England at Godwine's return from banishment in 1052, Richard was allowed to remain, together with his father in law Robert the deacon*. Richard and his son retained their lands and castle at the Conquest, Osbern being distinguished by his patronymie from Osbern Pentecost, also owner of a Herefordshire castle. In this county he held only 2h. 2¼v. in four holdings in the north east; owing to their small size, their fate has not been certainly traced; they were probably absorbed by the Beauchamp manors of Keysoe and Riseley (§ 160 Hugh Hubald). Osbern was succeeded by Hugh son of Osbern, and he by Osbern son of Hugh, but no trace of these men has been noted in this county.

iv. **Osbern son of Walter** (Ped. III) has been suggested as identical with Osbern camerarius¹. While nothing of his father has been traced, it would not be surprising if he should prove to be a casual son of Walter Giffard whose father was an Osbern (but it is not suggested that he was identical with the tenant in chief Osbern Giffard). His wife was Muriel sister of Eudo dapifer², and he held the whole of Little Barford as two manors, one of 3h. in chief 'de Rege,' one of 5h. from Eudo as knight of Ramsey Abbey. Both of these were assigned to the Abbey by Eudo in an agreement which was to take effect at Muriel's death³; but while we find at a later date Hugh de Beauchamp (II E) holding the 5h. as knight of the abbey, the 3h. were held from the Eaton Barony. Osbern is not traceable elsewhere in D.B.; he had a son Walger [? Walter] who attested Eudo's agreement⁴ but has not been found elsewhere.

§ 164.

i. **Pirot**, who held in Beeston and Northill from Eudo dapifer, and in Streatley and Wyboston from Nigel de Albini, founded a family which, under the surname of Pyrot or Perot retained most of these lands; remaining under the double overlordship, they acquired other property and flourished until the xvth. century; they were benefactors of Wardon Colchester and Dunstable monasteries. Their representative in 1166 held five fees of the Honour of Cainhoe and four of the Honour of Eudo dapifer, while what seems to be a branch of this family held six fees under William de Albini pincerna.

ii. **Ralf de Insula** held only in this county, unless he appears under some other name elsewhere. Nothing is known of him beyond his tenancy: he held 'de Rege' lands which had been of Archbishop Stigand T.R.E., and eventually were formed into the Bishop of Lincoln's important manor of Biggleswade; it is therefore likely that Ralf also will prove to have been a churchman.

iii. **Ralf de Langetot**, so styled from Languetot close to Bolbec the original home of his overlords, was an undertenant of Walter Giffard. By the marriage before 1090 of his (presumed) daughter Alice de Langetot with Roger de Caisneto (the founder of the Oxfordshire Chesneys), his manor of Campton, into which his Cud-sand holding was apparently absorbed (§ 49), passed to the Chesney family. Of the fate of his land in Dunton and Millo, no satisfactory evidence has been found. Ralf was alive in 1091, when he attested a confirmation by William Rufus of a charter by Walter Giffard⁵. Though the name seems to disappear from this county after D.B., the family continued to thrive in Suffolk for a century and a half, where our Ralf was again an undertenant of Walter Giffard, apparently under St. Edmund's Abbey. The village of Stow Langtoft, co. Suffolk, still preserves their name.

iv. **Ralf Passaquam**, undertenant of William Spech in Holcote, is almost certainly the 'Ralf' who held jointly with Serlo de Ros in Biddenham, if the later history of that vill be considered. His numerous descendants were generally known as Passelewe (= passe l'eau), and produced a race of churchmen and lawyers, occasionally of somewhat ambiguous character. He appears as a considerable undertenant in Buckinghamshire; as Ralf Passaquam he had been dispossessed of 'Draintone' by the Bishop of Coutances, but he or his successors recovered the manor, and have left their name on it to this day as Drayton 'Parslow.' As simply 'Ralf,' he seems to have held from the Count of Mortain in Swanbourne, Salden (Mursley), Woughton, and Wavendon; and from Walter Giffard in Bow Brickhill and perhaps Woolstone, for in all these the Passelews held at a later date; some of the other 'Ralf' entries in Buckinghamshire may denote him, but some at least seem to represent Ralf Basset. The Bedfordshire lands remained with the family until the xvth century.

v. **Ralf Taillebois** (Tallebosc, Talgeboseh, etc., Ped. VI), who was dead before 1086, seems to have been energetic and a little highhanded as Sheriff (§ 76). Of his personality and origin nothing has been noted in contemporary records; but the derivation of his fief largely from the lands of the Saxon Anschil and by exchange for Ware (§ 123), and his possible relationship to Hugh de Beauchamp, have been already discussed in these volumes⁶. Besides his wife Azeline, recorded in D.B. as tenant in chief 'de Rege' for her dower and marriage portion, he left a daughter who held in Hunsdon co. Herts.; to his niece, who had married Ranulf brother of Ilger, he gave a liberal portion in Stanstead⁷. His estates and those of Azeline were the kernel of the Barony of Beauchamp of Bedford.

vi. **Rannulf (Ralf) brother of Ilger** (Ped. VI) was probably brother of that Ilger who held the unenviable post of governor (pedagogue) of the young Robert

k. Flor. Worcest. (E.H.S.), i, 210.

l. Round: F. E., 321-326.

m. Regesta, i, pp. xxv, xxvi, and no. 166.

n. B.H.R.S., i, 67; ii, 67, 68.

o. Ramsay Cart. (R.S., 79), ii. 257, 258.

p. Ramsey Chron. (R.S., 83), 208, 233.

q. Regesta, i, no. 320.

r. B.H.R.S., i, 64, 70.

s. D.B., i, 135b, 142.

afterwards Duke of Normandy; in that capacity he attested a charter in 1066 immediately before the invasion of England^t. Ranulf married a niece of Ralf Taille-bosc, receiving with her lands in Stanstead, co. Herts.^u; and was Sheriff of Hunts. under Rufus^v. By his attestations, he was much at William's court, and was sufficiently important to be associated with Geoffrey de Mandeville and Hamo the Sheriff in a 'view' of lands which were to be granted by the Crown to Eudo dapifer^w. His nephew R., addressed jointly with him in a precept of William Rufus^x, is probably the Ranulf son of Ulger who attested a charter of Duke Robert before 1098^y. While he held a good deal of land in 1086, his sole tenancy in chief in this county was the manor of Pavenham, which passed to the Clares^z for some undetected reason; he was also undertenant of Everton in Beds. (32) from Countess Judith and of Everton in Hunts. (o) from the King.

vii. **Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln** (Remy), was almoner of the Norman abbey of Fécamp at the time of the Conquest, and gave a ship with twenty knights for the invasion; at a later date, in the conflict between William and Archbishop Lanfranc, his preferment was therefore attributed to simony. On the death of Bishop Wulfwig (Wulwi § 176) he was named Bishop of Lincoln, and allowed himself to be consecrated by Archbishop Stigand; that he pleaded afterwards his ignorance of the uncanonical and schismatic character of this procedure is hardly to his credit, but he was allowed to retain his bishopric. In 1076 he accompanied the Archbishops of Canterbury and York on an embassy to Pope Gregory; in 1086 he was a D.B. Commissioner. During his tenure the actual cathedra or seat of the Bishopric was transferred from Dorchester co. Oxon. to Lincoln, where he built the new Cathedral Church, the west front of which still remains; Rufus came in 1092 to be present at its consecration, but Remigius had died two days before. It appears that not he, but Wulfwig, was the first to be styled Bishop of Lincoln. Giraldus Cambrensis takes a favourable view of his life and character^a, but there is evidence that, whether his motives were of a personal or an ecclesiastical nature, he was of a somewhat grasping character; for example, he deprived the Canons of Bedford of a hide which belonged to them in alms (Bedford 1); and the King had to interfere with his oppression of the Abbot of Ely^b. His lands in this county were composite, and it is doubtful whether Bedford church was held by his predecessor in the See. The acquisition of Leighton (afterwards the Prebendal manor) presents some difficulty; D.B. is clear that it had belonged to Bp. Wulfwig T.R.E., but the charter by which the removal of the See to Lincoln was notified^c tells a somewhat different tale:—"Moreover, at the prayer and exhortation of bishop Remigius, I grant to the same church [of Lincoln] a certain manor which is called Lestona and which Earl Waltheof long ago had given (dudum dederat) to the said bishop by my hand." It is possible that Waltheof's gift to Wulfwig, confirmed by the royal hand, had been revoked on his attain, and was now repeated by the King on his own behalf. Some but not

all of the lands of 'men' of Wulfwig fell to Remigius, but his holdings in this county were small and appear to have been alienated gradually from the Bishopric, with the exception of Leighton; the important manor of Biggleswade was added to the See in 1132 by Henry 1^d.

§ 165.

i. **Richard Basset** is presumed to have sprung, like his overlord Robert d'Oilli, from the district of Ouilly le Basset in Calvados. In D.B. he appears as undertenant in Thurleigh only, but he or his son at an early date came to hold Clapham also from Miles Crispin (who had it in demesne in 1086) or his successor. From the association of both of them with Clapham, he seems to have been father of Ralf Basset, the well known Justiciar of Henry I, and thus ancestor of a line of Bassets already discussed in these volumes^d. Richard was probably brother of the Ralf Basset who in 1086 held from Robert d'Oilli in Marsworth and Cheddington co. Bucks., and in Tiscot co. Herts.

ii. **Richard Pungiant** (Pugnant) held de Rege the manor of Dunton, which became for some time attached to a Chamberlainship of the King's Court and was probably already an official manor. In his two hides at Tempsford, V.C.H.^e sees the origin of Brayes manor.

iii. **Richard, son of Count Gilbert of Brionne** (Ped. I, III) is also known as Richard de Bienfaite^f (his Norman castle), de Tonbridge (his English castle), and de Clare (Clare, co. Suffolk, the head of his barony). Duke Richard I of Normandy, 'the Fearless,' had two natural children^g Godfrey and William, between whose descendants the Counties of Brionne and Eu were ultimately divided, but the contemporary chroniclers are not in accord as to the details. While William's descendants were certainly Counts of Eu (§ 169, v), Godfrey's son Gilbert became Count of Brionne; he was killed about 1039, in the troubles which clouded Duke William's minority. Richard his son was appointed Chief Justiciar jointly with William de Warenne (§ 170), during William's absence; at the revolt of the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk in 1074 (in which Waltheof was implicated), they routed the rebels in open field. William had great regard both for Richard, and for his brother Baldwin de Meules, and 'advanced them in the world both on account of their kinship to himself and of their own valour.' Roheise, the wife of Richard, was a daughter of Walter Giffard I, and they appear as the refounders of the Priory of St. Neot (intimately connected with East Bedfordshire) and as ancestors of the great house of Clare. He thus appears as holding the T.R.E. lands of St. Neot in Sudbury (in Eaton Socon) and Wyboston.

iv. **Richard Talbot**, undertenant of Walter Giffard at Battlesdon, has not yet been placed satisfactorily in relation to other men of the name. It has been suggested on the strength of a rather ambiguous phrase in Orderic, and it is possible, that he married a sister of Hugh de Gournai, but it appears to throw him a generation too late. Talbots, presumably his descendants, held in Battlesden till the middle of the xiiijth century^h.

t. Regesta, i, no. 2.

u. D.B., i, 138b.

v. Regesta, i, no. 321.

w. Regesta, i, no. 435.

x. Regesta, i, no. 447.

y. Cal. Doc. France, no. 423.

z. V. C. H., Beds., iii, 78.

a. Vite episcoporum Lincolnensium: Anglia Sacra, ii, 413-416.

b. Regesta, i, nos. 151, 154, 156.

c. Inspecimus in Mon. Angl., vi (viii), 1270.

d. Inspecimus in Mon. Angl., vi (viii), 1271.

e. B.H.R.S., v, 240-242.

f. V.C.H., ii, 252, 253.

g. Canton Moyenville, Arrondissement Abbeville (Joanne), not in Vuillemin's Atlas.

h. But see note to William de Ow, § 169.

i. B.H.R.S., v, 231, 232.

v. **Robert d'Oilli** (de Olgi, Oilgi, etc. Ped. II), since Ralf and Richard Basset were among his under-tenants, probably took name like them from Ouilly le Basset to the west of Falaise, out of the numerous places termed Ouilly in Calvados. His supposed marriage with Ealdgyth daughter of Wigod of Wallingford has been cited above under Miles Crispin, his supposed son in law (§ 161). Robert assuredly succeeded to a great part of Wigod's estate, and about 1071-2 built the castle of Oxford, of which he is described as Constable; he founded the church of St. George in the castle in 1074. The chronicler of Abingdon describes him as very wealthy, sparing neither rich nor poor in his exactions; as is not unusual for such patrons, he is depicted as at first tyrannical to the Abbey, but brought to make penitential amends by an evil dream; at least he restored the minster at Abingdon, and some ruined churches in Oxford, in one of which his work may still be seen. In 1084 (et ipse prediues) he entertained at Abingdon prince Henry (afterwards Henry I), attended by the Bishop of Salisbury and by 'Milone de Walingaford cognomine Crispin,' and "supplied abundance of things not only for the royal tables but even for the tables of the brethren of this monastery." He died in 1092. At D.B. he held in this county only a little land at Thurleigh, but had evidently preceded Miles Crispin at Clapham (99a); lands, the fate of which has been already discussed in these volumes¹.

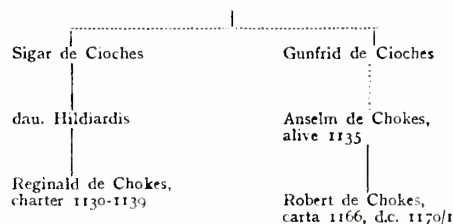
vi. **Robert de Toden** (Toeni, Ped. III) is presumed to have been a cadet of the notable family* which drew its style from Toesny (Thosny) on the Eure R., and were also lords of Conches and hereditary standard bearers of Normandy; but the contemporaries who chronicled their doings are silent as to Robert. Whatever his origin and services may have been, he held at D.B. an enormous fief, building a castle and founding in 1076 a priory at Belvoir co. Leic., the head of his barony. With his grand-daughter Cecily de Belvoir, the fief passed to William d'Albini (distinguished as 'the Breton' from other contemporaries of that name), to whose Honour of Belvoir the overlordship of Robert de Toden's lands in Turvey and Oakley fell; his manor of Studham however seems to have been the marriage portion of his daughter Agnes, the wife of Hubert de Ryes (II), and passed to her descendants.

§ 166.

i. **Serlo de Ros**, undertenant of William Spech in Biddenham and of Hugh de Beauchamp in Biddenham and Bromham, was probably named from Rots in the Calvados. His connection with the fief of Spech suggests him as a relative, perhaps father, of that Peter de Ros who in the next generation married Adelina sister of Walter Espec and (presumed) daughter of William Spech, and founded the house of Roos of Hamelake, eventually Earls of Rutland. There is no further trace of de Ros on these holdings; the rights in the land at Biddenham seem to have been assigned to other descendants of William Spech—the Trailly family (§ 158)—probably by exchange for Colesden and Chawston in Roxton, where de Ros is found to hold in 1242 but did not hold in 1086; the exchange may well have been made in 1157-8, when Robert de Ros, Geoffrey de Trailly, and

William de Buissei, representing Walter Espec's three coheirresses, paid heavy reliefs to the Crown for partition of his lands¹.

ii. **Sigar de Cioches** (Chokes, Chukes, etc.) derived his name from Chocques near Bethune in the Pas de Calais, and is presumed to have been a brother of Gunfrid de Cioches. Beyond his not considerable holdings at D.B., nothing has been traced of him; but Reginald de Chokes, who had taken his mother's name, was a benefactor of St. Peter Gloucester in his grandfather Sigar's manor of Teneurde (Yanworth, co. Glouc.) between 1130 and 1139^m. The early descent of the Honour of Cioches does not seem to have been worked out, nor has the present writer as yet succeeded in tracing it in detail. But it is clear that, while Reginald was a successor of Sigar, Anselm was his contemporary and a successor of Gunfrid to many of whose Northants. manors he had succeeded at the date of the "Northamptonshire Survey" (largely temp. Henry I). Apparently the two D.B. estates had not been united by 1130, in which year Anselm is found to owe 170m. to the Exchequer "for recovery of his land in England," it having been in the custody of Hugh de Leicesterⁿ. Anselm's son Robert accounts for 9 fees in 1160/1, and for 15 fees in 1166^o and later; this may mark the fusion of the D.B. honours of Sigar and Gunfrid. Robert, judged from entries on the Pipe Roll, seems to have died about 1170, and to have been the last male of the family. The next step in descent is apparently obscured in Normandy; William of Bethune, who succeeded his father as Advocate of Arras in 1128/9, married Clemence daughter of Hugh de Oisy, castellan of Cambrai, who brought with her a third of the lordship of Chocques^q; another part, which included Sigar's English lands, was transferred by the family of the castellans of Lens to the family de Bethune by an agreement which is dated by its editor ?1145/60^r, and the Advocate of Bethune is thereon found to hold 5 fees in co. Glouc. in 1160/61^r. As far as has been traced, practically all the English lands of Cioches are thenceforward held as the Honour of Chokes by the family of Bethune, or their successors (by purchase) de Guisnes and de Fiennes.



iii. **Tovi priest**, see § 176.

iv. **Turol**, Abbot of Peterborough, originally a monk of Fécamp, was promoted by William to be Abbot of Malmesbury. In 1070 he was transferred to Peterborough in succession to the Saxon abbot Brand, as a man likely to offer stern resistance to the trouble known to be brewing in that neighbourhood. Before he could reach it, the Golden Borough was sacked and burnt by the Danes, aided by English under Hereward, a 'man' of the abbey who held a few bovates near Bourne and was the leader of local enmity to Norman rule. Turol

j. B.H.R.S., v, 230-242.

k. Round: Hist. MSS. Comm., Rutland, iv, 106, 107.

l. P.R., 4 Hen. II. (R.C.), 140.

m. Hist. St. Peter Gloucester (R.S. 33), i, 90; ii, 179-181.

n. Pipe Roll, 1130 (R.C.), 81, 84.

o. Liber Rubeus, 26, 334.

p. Duchesne, A.: Hist. de la Maison de Bethune.

q. Cal. Doc. France, 494, no. 1359.

r. Liber Rubeus, 24.

detached the Danes by a separate treaty, and within a week of his arrival the church's daily services were resumed. Reference has already been made to his conflict with the Abbot of St. Edmund (§ 155). The authorship of the *Chanson de Roland* has been attributed to him on rather inadequate evidence. He seems to have died in 1098; a small holding at Stanwick 51, then gelding in Bedfordshire, was his only land 'in' this county.

v. Walter brother of Seiher, see Walter Fleming.

§ 167.

i. **Walter Fleming** reaches back so nearly to the Conquest that it is probable that he fought at Hastings, for he attests as Walter Fleming in 1068²; but the entire absence from chronicled history of a man who held so considerable a barony is remarkable. It is possible that he was also known by some other name, but the attempt of Dugdale to identify him with Walter Bec of Lincolnshire does not seem to be justified by the D.B. of that county. Two other men, apparently members of his family, occur in our record, whose holdings were merged into the fief of Walter's successors (Barons of Wauhall, the modern Odell); these were Hugh Fleming and Walter the brother of Seiher (Scier). This last name is of Flemish origin, and in the forms of Saer or Saher reappears later among the Wauhalls. The presumption is that Seiher was the elder brother of Walter, held the barony and died before 1086, and that Walter Fleming the D.B. holder and Hugh Fleming were his sons. Seiher certainly preceded Walter in Southill (247).

ii. **Walter Giffard** (Ped. III) was a name borne by three successive generations, and it is not always possible to distinguish exactly between them. The first Giffard, so nicknamed from his 'Fat Cheeks,' was son of Osbern de Bolebec, and lord of Longueville. He was old enough to hold military command at Arques in 1053, and was among those who charged in on the English standard at Hastings; his services were rewarded by an extensive fief in the southern midlands, of which the chief manor was Long Crendon co. Bucks. It is possible that he survived the Conqueror, but some authorities place his death in 1084; according to Orderic he was created Earl of Buckingham in 1080, but in that case the D.B. tenant in chief, who is not styled Earl, was his son and future successor; one of the two, probably the father, was a D.B. Commissioner. Walter Giffard II, undoubtedly Earl of Buckingham at a later date, was a steady supporter of Rufus, and died in 1102, leaving his heir Walter Giffard III a minor in charge of his mother Agnes de Ribemont, a former mistress of Duke Robert of Normandy; this third Walter left no issue, and the Honour passed to the Clares. Of Walter's lands in Beds. much remained in the families of his under-tenants—Bolebec, Talbot, and Langetot, but the Honour has not yet been worked out in detail.

iii. **Walter monachus** was a juror for Armingford Hundred at the Inquisition of the County of Cambridge, which as we possess it seems to be a transcript of the original returns made by the Hundreds in preparation for *Domesday Book*. (§ 2). He held in Cambs. five hides at Tadlow from Azelina Taillebois, and was her undertenant also in Wardon and Chicksand; in Northill he held from Hugh de Beauchamp; for the last two villis he is entered simply as Walter. Under the name of

Monachus or its translation le Moyne (le Moine), his descendants continued to hold in Tadlow, Northill (Thorncote and Beeston) and Wardon till the middle of the xijth. century. Their Chicksand land seems to have been given to Chicksand Priory by Richard le Moyne, Walter's [?] grandson, probably at its foundation about 1150².

§ 168.

i. **Waltheof Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon** (Wallef, Waldeus, etc. Ped. I) was son of Siward Digera Earl of Northumbria. He was passed over for his father's earldom, but created Earl on the disgrace of Tostig in 1065. He seems to have reluctantly submitted to the Conqueror at first, and was permitted to retain his dignity; but on the arrival of the Danish fleet in the Humber in 1069, he joined them in the attack on York; being of great height and strength, he took his stand at one of the city gates, and hewed down the Normans one by one as they were driven out by the flames. In 1070 he again submitted to William and was reinstated as Earl. The great stain on his character is his butchery of the sons of Carl Thurbbrandson in 1073, but as this was an episode in a blood-feud which had begun with the murder of his great-grandfather, and been continued by these men with the murder of his grandfather, he must be judged by the standard of a Norseman of the xjth. century rather than by that of an Englishman of to-day. When in 1075 the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk took advantage of William's prolonged absence in Normandy to conspire against him, Waltheof became involved—it is uncertain how deeply; it is at least certain that he took no part in the rebellion which followed, but repented and confessed all to the Archbishop, who, after penance inflicted, sent him overseas to lay the whole matter before the King. William at the moment made light of the tale, but as soon as they returned to England arrested Waltheof. The mid winter Assembly which tried him came to no certain conclusion, and he was remitted to prison for many months, which he spent in penitence and piety. He offered to embrace a monastic life, but was again brought to trial in May 1076; although clean contrary to William's boast that he never took life except in war, although unprecedented for many years in England or Normandy, although unjustified by the frivolous grounds alleged at the trial, the death sentence was pronounced, and the Conquest was completed by the political murder of the one remaining Englishman of highest birth rank and character. But it cannot be overlooked that these very distinctions made him dangerous, and that he could not be trusted; thrice he had submitted, and twice revolted; and, while he lived, he must ever be a focus of discontent. He was beheaded at Winchester, and buried on the spot. But the monks of Croyland to whom he had been ever a liberal friend, backed by the prayers of his wife Judith, had leave from William to translate him to their Abbey. As the last of the English Earls, the last notable leader of Englishmen against their conquerors, his memory was long kept green in men's hearts; he was regarded as saint and martyr, and miracles were shown at his tomb.

By his wife, the Countess Judith (§ 161, iii) he left three daughters; Matilda married Simon de St. Liz and afterwards King David I of Scotland, taking to her husbands the Earldom of Huntingdon; Judith married Ralf

s. Regesta, i, no. 203.
t. Round: F. E., 7.

u. B.H.R.S., i, 103, 104, 119.
v. D.N.B., lix, 265.

de Toesny (Todeni) the younger; a third was the wife of Robert son of Richard de Bienfaite. The only land in this county which is definitely stated to have belonged to him was Kenemondwick, which he gave to the Abbey of St. Edmund. But it is probable (if only for this reason) that he had also held after the Conquest Potton with its 'members,' which by 1086 were in his wife's hands. And it appears that at some previous date, he had endowed the bishopric of Lincoln with the [prebendal] manor of Leighton*, his connection with which has not otherwise been traced.

§ 169.

i. William Basset may possibly have been brother of Richard Basset (§ 165) but was undertenant in Milton [Ernest] of a different overlord, Hugh de Beauchamp. His descendants are still to be traced at Milton in 1227², but about that time were being replaced by the family of Ernest.

ii. William, Bishop of Durham, formerly Prior of St. Carilef (St. Calais) in Maine, received his see in 1080. Probably moved by jealousy of Archbishop Lanfranc, he, with Geoffrey Bishop of Coutances, supported the attempt of Duke Robert on the English crown in 1088; he was promptly outlawed and his estates escheated; a most interesting record of his trial has been preserved³ in which he stood stoutly on his canonical rights. After three years of exile, he was restored to his Bishopric, in reward for the support which he had given to the royal cause in Normandy. In the conflict between Rufus and Archbishop Anselm, the Bishop led the King's case, controverting the very arguments with which he had defended his own. He is now best remembered as the designer of Durham Cathedral, the first building in England to be vaulted with stone; the choir and one bay of the nave were complete at his death in 1096. His lands of Millo and Arlesey had formed part of Earl Harold's endowment of Waltham College⁴, but were assigned to the see of Durham by King William, who seems deliberately to have undone Harold's benefactions; they were restored however to Waltham Abbey in the next century.

iiib. William camerarius is somewhat obscure. William was a common name, and many men had chamberlains besides the King. But this man, who held 'de Rege,' seems likely to have been a royal chamberlain and a churchman of some importance, for he succeeded priests in Potsgrove and Battlesdon; and in Hartwell co. Bucks. he followed a priest of King Edward, though his other lands were apparently derived from laymen; he is accepted as a royal chamberlain by Davis and Whitworth⁵. He rented a vineyard in Middlesex from the crown in 1086⁶, and held in various counties; his Norman lands had passed by 1089 to St. Mary Bayeux⁷. His descendants and successors will be more appropriately discussed in connection with the Pipe Rolls in which they occur.

iii. William de Caron seems to have taken his name from Cairon on the river Seule in Calvados, close to Bretteville l'Orgueilleuse after which his (? later)

neighbours in Tempsford, the family de Bretteville, were probably styled. His father had held before him in Staughton (37), whereon Freeman remarks⁸ that he "must have been the son either of one of Eadward's French favourites, or of an Englishman who had given his son a foreign name"; the first suggestion seems to be the more probable. William's undertenancies at D.B. are noteworthy as being held of three several overlords. His descendants remained in Clifton Tempsford and Southill till about 1290; his Chicksand land was probably given to the Priory there by Walter de Caron in the xijth. century⁹; his parental holding in Staughton may perhaps be traced by a complicated entry of about 1242¹⁰, which seems to imply that the D.B. holdings of Cioches and of the Bishop of Lincoln had been united in one undertenancy.

iv. William de Locels, who held in Streatley and Higham Gobion from Hugh de Beauchamp, derived his style from Loucelles in the canton of Tilly sur Seule in Calvados. Under the name de Lucelle (de Lucellis), his posterity remained in possession of his D.B. lands, till an heiress Beatrice carried them to the Gobion family somewhat before 1200.

v. William de Ow (Ped. I) derived his name, and later his title of Count, from Eu near the mouth of the river Bresle. There is some uncertainty about the succession of these Counts, but the relations shown in Pedigree I seem best to harmonise with known facts¹¹. His father, Robert Count of Eu, who accompanied the Conqueror and was put in charge of Hastings after the battle, was still alive in 1088 when he supported William Rufus against the attempt of Duke Robert of Normandy to be king in his brother's place; William his son however adhered to the Duke. The latter ceded the County of Eu to Rufus in 1091, and in 1093 William submitted himself to the King as Count; his loyalty was brief, for in 1095 he joined Robert de Mowbray's revolt. Defeated in judicial combat, he was convicted of treason, blinded, and (as punishment for unfaithfulness to his wife Helisende) castrated at the instigation of his brother in law, the Earl of Chester. His lands, here as elsewhere, had belonged to the Saxon Alestan of Boscumbe; in some counties his immediate predecessor was Ralf de Limesi, notably in the West Country where he received the Honour of Strigoil forfeited by Ralf in the rebellion of 1074; but there is no trace of such succession in Bedfordshire. His forfeited estates in this county were eventually added to the Honour of Clare (Gloucester); but his descendants were allowed to retain the Norman County.

§ 170.

i. William Lovet, of whom hardly any record elsewhere than in D.B. has been found, held an inconsiderable estate in Berkshire and Leicestershire; his holding in Northamptonshire must surely be the smallest tenancy in chief recorded, consisting of a third of a virgate which 'was and is waste.' His Bedfordshire holdings were 'de Rege,' and probably reverted to the Crown; they have not been again noticed until about 1180, when Alexander son of Gerold and Adelaide his wife were

w. Regesta, i, no. 283.

x. B.H.R.S., vi, fine 314.

y. Sym. of Durham (R.S. 75), 171-195; Mon. Angl., i, 244-250.

z. B.H.R.S., v, 57.

a. Regesta, i, p. xxvi.

b. D.B. i, 127.

c. Regesta, i, no. 308.

d. Freeman: N.C., v, 755.

e. B.H.R.S., i, 120.

f. Testa de Nevill (R.C.), 242b.

g. William (I) of Eu is generally regarded as uncle of Gilbert of Brienne, but the dates make this most improbable, and I have found no manuscript authority for the relationship. The marriage of Robert of Eu with Hawaise is a surmise of Mr. Eyton, based on the succession of the estate.

the 'chief lords of the soil.'^h As William Luuet he granted the title of Flitewyk (Flitwick) and two other villas to St. Albanⁱ.

ii. William Peverelⁱ (Ped. I) evidently bore a nickname; perhaps Puerulus the stripling, possibly Piperellus the peppery; both forms occur in Latin documents. There is a great obscurity about his birth; two traditions agree in that they make him a natural son of William the Conqueror by a Saxon mother; in spite of Freeman's belief in William's domestic virtue, there is no improbability about this, though no clear contemporary evidence for the tradition has been found. As he was evidently still young in 1068, there must have been some very strong reason for William to place him in command of the important castle of Nottingham, and to bestow on him some 162 manors, a reason which does not seem to depend on previous military prowess in Normandy. Though his witness to charters is frequent, his appearances in history are less common and in no way remarkable; but he was the original Peverel of the Peak, and built at Castleton in Peak Forest "the true vulture's nest of a robber knight" which still remains. Known as William Peverel 'of Nottingham,' he must be carefully distinguished from his contemporaries William Peverel 'of Dover,' and William Peverel 'of London' (or 'of Hatfield,' or 'of Essex'). He founded the priories of Lenton co. Notts., and St. James Northampton, and died about 1114, leaving a widow Adelina or Adeliza who seems to have been alive in 1130, a son William, and a daughter Adeliza who married Richard de Redvers. His estates were escheated in the next generation, and formed into the royal Honour of Peverel of Nottingham.

A part of his D.B. honour was the barony of Hecham (Higham Ferrars), co. Northts.; to this 1 virgate in Rushden (121), gelding in Beds., was attached; it is therefore probable that he was the William who held in Farndish (268), as he had two socmen in Farndish (p) and a half hide in Podington (q) which gelded in Northants. Besides these, he held the manor of Tillsworth, which passed to the Honour of Peverel of Nottingham^k.

iii. William Speech (Espeç, compare Scrob, Escrop) took his nickname from the green woodpecker. His only holdings were in Bedfordshire, but formed a fairly extensive barony, the basis of the later baronies of Trailli, Ros of Hamelake, and Wake of Wardon, derived through three coheirresses who seem to have been his daughters, and sisters of the better known Walter Espeç. Of William himself nothing has been traced by the present writer.

iv. William de Warenneⁱ (Ped. VIII) drew name from his fortress on the River Varenne at Bellecombte (Seine Inf.) He fought at Mortemer in 1054, and at Hastings; and is said to have possessed extraordinary courage. Richly enfeoffed after the Conquest, he erected his main castle at Lewes co. Sussex, and in 1086 held lands in twelve counties. As Justiciar jointly with Richard de Clare, he suppressed the revolt of the Earls in 1075. With Gundrada his wife, he founded in 1077 the Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, and later that at Castle Acre where he had a second castle. In the rebel-

lion of 1088 he adhered to Rufus; in that year he was created Earl of Surrey, and died. Of his Bedfordshire lands those in Dean were bestowed on the Priory of Huntingdon; the manor of Tillbrook and the lands in Staughton passed (by a path not yet clear) to William de Say with the Honour of Kimbolton.

B. IN SAXON TIME.

§ 171.

A few notes can be added on pre-Conquest men, the majority of whom were of Saxon blood, although the immigration of aliens, which became considerable under King Edward, is just noticeable in our records. It names apparently four such aliens at least; Albert of Lorraine (§ 154) and the father of William de Caron (§ 169) have already been mentioned. Almar de Ow is listed below. Normannus, probably a Norman in spite of Freeman's dictum (§ 108) had held T.R.E.

i. Alestan (A.S. Ælfstan) de Boscumbe, whose name-place lies near Amesbury, held a large estate in Wilts. and Dorset, and important lands in other counties. In Beds. the lands of himself and his men were transferred to William de Ow in block, a remarkably complete instance of replacement. He is probably the Ælfstan sheriff who attested the promised grant of Statham to St. Alban^m.

ii. Algar (A.S. Ælfgar) Earl of Mercia, son of Earl Leofric and the Lady Godiva (Pedigree VII), was appointed by Edward to be Earl of East Anglia in place of Harold, on the banishment of Earl Godwine and his family in 1051. Ousted on their return, he was reinstated when Harold succeeded to his father's Earldom of Wessex in 1054. Next year, however, he was outlawed, probably because, as heir to an Earldom already 300 years old, he would have a better claim to the English crown than Harold could show. He thereon raised a force in Ireland, joined the Welsh under his brother in law, and routed Earl Ralf the marcher at Hereford, where they plundered and burnt after the manner of the time. Harold marched against them, but granted peace without further fighting, and Algar was duly inlawed. At his father's death in 1057 he succeeded to the Earldom of Mercia; again outlawed, he again compelled his inlawing, strengthened now by the marriage of his daughter Eadgyth (Edith) to Harold. He died about 1062, leaving two sons, the future Earls Eadwine of Mercia and Morkere of Northumbria. In this county he was represented only by his house carle (Milton Brian 141).

iii. Alli, King's thane, appears to have held also in Clifton Reynes and Lavendonⁿ, just across the Bucks. border, while his brother Alsì held the manor of Pavenham; all these lands lie in a string. He is described variously a man, a thane, or a housecarle, of King Edward, according as his duty rank or service to the King were in the scribe's mind. His Felmersham land (304), assigned to Countess Judith, fell eventually to the family de Meppershall, but did not form part of the perquisite of the Larderer Serjeant. His holding at Carlton, according to Dr. Morris^o, came under the Barony of Beauchamp of Bedford.

h. Dunstable Cartul., f. 21, 21d. This looks as if his lands had passed to the Roumelli Honour of Skipton in Craven, but the succession has still to be worked out.

i. Mon. Angl., ii, 220.

j. Complete Peerage (ed. 2), iv, 761.

k. Lib. Rub. 584, Tolesworthie.

l. D.N.B., lix, 372.

m. B.H.R.S., v, 55.

n. V.C.H., Bucks., i, 241a, 273b.

o. B.H.R.S., v, 3.

iv. **Almar de Ow** (Ailmar, A.S. *Ælfmær* or *Æthelmær*), though his fore-name is English enough, deserves note as having perhaps been one of Edward's foreign mercenaries, taking name from Eu in the Pas de Calais.

v. **Almar** "man of Aluric de Flitwick" seems to imply some error, for Aluric held in Cainhoe and Silsoe, while Flitwick was held by Alwin horim. The vill is adjacent and the mistake easy.

vi. **Alric** (A.S. *Ælfric* or *Æthelric*) receives in Table VIII a bracket for three contiguous villis.

vii. **Alric** son of Goding is identified in Table VIII with Alric King's thane, as their estates and those of their men are all close together, the unnamed holding 180 being probably a part of Holcote (§ 52). Alric son of Goding had a large estate in Bucks., which like Woburn in this county fell to Walter Giffard at the Conquest.

viii. **Alsi** (A.S. *Æthelsige* or *Ælfsige*) of Bromham, thrice mentioned as man of Queen Edith, was probably therefore that son in law of Wulward the White (§ 176), to whom the ex-Queen gave, after the Conquest and on his marriage, three holdings in Bucks. which William allowed him to hold 'de Rege.' He appears to have been steward of the ex-Queen's Court at Wilton in 1072.

§ 172.

i. **Alwin Deule** (A.S. *Ælfwine*). The first four entries under this name in Table VIII are pinned together by the double name being given in full, although the holdings are widely separate. As Riseley is, and Elvendon and Segresdon probably were (§ 50) close to Staughton, the presumption is that the next three entries refer to the same man. The 'Deule' is in each case superscript as an afterthought, to avoid confusion with Alwin 'Sac,' another man of the Bishop of Lincoln, whose second name is also superscript; this confusion would not be likely to occur on the fiefs of Hugh pincerna and Osbern son of Richard, for which the single name would be enough. If this is correct, the case certainly suggests that the relation of the 'man' to his lord might sometimes be derived from the land rather than from a personal bond; if Alwin had merely desired protection, he would hardly have had recourse, at least to two, possibly to four, separate lords. The case is further interesting; in so far as he was man of Stori, his land fell with that of Stori to Osbern son of Richard; in so far as he was man of the Bishop of Lincoln, it went to Bishop Remigius but drew with it also the somewhat distant lands which he held as man of Kg. Edward, and on both of them William de Caron was placed as under-tenant. Alwin Deule had also a virgate in Pertenhall (then gelding in Hunts.) from the Bishop of Lincoln^a, but it was of King Edward's soke^c; this fell to Bishop Remigius; and he held the manor of Perry co. Hunts. apparently for himself, but this went to Eustace the Sheriff^d. Lastly he is almost certainly the Alwin who had held T.R.E. and "now holds from the King" a miserable virgate in Keysoe (then gelding in Hunts.), farming with only 2 oxen in the plough and one villan^e;

p. V.C.H. Bucks., i, 274b, 275a.

q. § 208.

r. § 208.

s. D.B., i, 206d.

t. § 208.

u. D.B., i, 1b.

v. V.C.H. Herts., i, 284; V.C.H. Beds., i, 200.

a wretched end to a man who before the Conquest had controlled something like 1200 acres.

ii. **Alwin** brother of Bishop Wulfwig held also in Westbury by Shenley co. Bucks., but apparently not from his saintly brother. A second brother, Godric, held in Buckland in the same county, probably from the Bishop, since his land fell to Bp. Remigius.

iii. **Alwin Horim**. His second name, an easy error in transcription for Hornu or Horni, shows that he was the Alwin Horne who held in Herts. and on mortgage in Middlesex. Further Alwin hor (superscript) appears in the list of the Saxons who had sake and soke in Kent^a, where he would therefore also hold land.

iv. **Alwold** (Adelold, A.S. *Æthelweald*) of Stevinton. The first six entries under this name in Table VIII have been bracketed by the nearness of the lands to each other; the seventh is less certain, but probable.

v. **Anschil** (Aschil etc, A.S. *Anschetil*, *Anscytel*) is known in the Herts. D.B. as 'of Ware.' Dr. Round^b shows that in all probability his estates in both Beds. and Herts. were originally [or at any rate at an early date] granted to Ralf Taillebois, who parted with Ware in exchange for additional Beds. lands (§ 123 i), thus consolidating his estate. The devolution of his lands and those of his men in this county to the fief of Beauchamp of Bedford has been discussed briefly in an earlier volume^c.

vi. **Asgar** (Ansgar, *Ansgardus*; A.S. *Esegar*) was Staller (§ 106) of King Edward and Sheriff of Middlesex as early as 1044; this appears from a royal writ to Bp. Ælfwold, to him, and "to all my burh-thegns in London."^d As Sheriff he led the men of London at Hastings against the invader, and was borne back wounded from the field. When, some two months later, William advanced upon London from the north, Asgar, who had been engaged in diplomatic negotiation with him, carried in a litter, headed that gathering of the Elder Men of the City which at Berkhamstead accepted the Conqueror as King of the English, subject to the confirmation of a national election. He does not seem to have been continued in office by William, either as Staller or as Sheriff. The pedigree^e, based on the *de Inventione Crucis* of Waltham, which makes him the active contemporary of his great-grandfather, is obviously untrustworthy. His estates lay in many counties; he had numerous lands in Herts., of which it is implied that he was at one time Sheriff^f; though he held nothing in Beds., his man Eadwine held the manor of Biscot.

§ 173.

i. **Bondi** (Bundi) was Staller (§ 106, 150) under Harold, and fought at Stamford Bridge against Harold Hardrada and Earl Tostig, but seems not to have reached Hastings in time to take part in that battle. He appears to have kept his place as Staller under King William, and attested at the Whitsun Court of 1068 under his official title^g. About 1067 he was Justiciar in Oxon. The only reference to him in the Beds. D.B. seems to imply that he had been Sheriff of this county before Ralf Taillebois (Streatley 364), and as Staller he attested the promised grant of Studham to St. Alban^h.

w. B.H.R.S., i, 64.

x. Kemble: *Cod. Diplom.*, iv, 221, no. 872.

y. Searle: *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, etc.*, 454.

z. Kemble: *Cod. Diplom.*, iv, 217, no. 864.

c. *Regesta*, nos. 18, 23.

d. B.H.R.S., v, 55.

ii. **Borred** (Burred etc., A.S. Borgred) held in the north of the county an estate of 31½h. which was transferred, with nearly all his numerous men and their 23h., to the Bp. of Coutances; but his chief estate, which also fell to the Bp., lay in Northants. He had a son Eadwine who held in Lathbury and Sherington, and a son Ulf who held in Marsh Gibbon, all in co. Bucks.; the latter, by mistake of f for s, is probably identical with the Ulsi son of Borgret who had a man in Hinwick 213.

iii. **Brietric** (Brixtric, A.S. Beorhtic) held Clapham probably on lease for a life or lives, from the Abbot of Ramsey (§ 73). As this was assigned to Robert de Oilli and passed to Miles Crispin, he is probably the Beorhtic, called variously thane of King Edward or man of Queen Edith, whose men and important manors in Bucks. fell to the same Norman estate. He may also be the Brihtic who was at the Court of Whitsuntide in 1068¹.

iv. **Edith Queen of England** (A.S. Eadgyth), daughter of Godwin and sister of Harold (Ped. VII) married Edward in 1045, and seems to have been a devoted wife—almost mother—to a poor creature of a husband. Owing to his lack of health, she often took his place in Council and at state functions. After the Conquest she retired to Winchester, well treated by William, and died in 1075, having lived under six reigns and four dynasties. Though she held no land in this county, she appears in the record as protector of several 'men of Queen Edith,' among them Alsi of Bromham (§ 171).

v. **Edward the Confessor** (A.S. Eadward) King of the English 1043—1066, held only the manors of Leighton Luton and Houghton as royal demesne, which naturally fell to the Conqueror. He seems to have held also Potton, with its berewicks of Hatley Everton and Charlton for a brief period as escheats on the banishment of Tostig in 1065. The number of 'men of King Edward' is remarkable, and the principle on which they were distributed at present inexplicable.

vi. **Edward wit**, see Wulward the White.

§ 174.

i. **Goda** (Gytha, A.S. Godgifu) the Countess, who had a priest as her man in Rushden 121, may have been any one of the three ladies of the name shown in Pedigree VII. The most likely is perhaps the wife of Earl Algar, the Lady Godiva of the Coventry legend, with whose lavish generosity to the Church the endowment of a priest well fits.

ii. **Godric the Sheriff**², to whom four entries seem to refer, was Sheriff of Oxon and Berks, possibly also of other counties, and appears to have been unusually high handed, even for a sheriff. By implication he was also at one time Sheriff of Bucks.,³ in the D.B. of which we have the pleasant touch of his granting a half hide to Alwin the maid while he should be Sheriff on condition of her teaching his daughter orfrey work (aurifrisium). He is probably the Godricus tribunus who attested the Studham charter⁴.

He fell at the battle of Hastings, and most of his land passed to Henry de Ferrières. Of a hide in Berkshire it is told that it was of the King's farm and held

by Godric T.R.E., and that one man says that he has seen a writ of the King quod eam dederit femine Gobrici in dono eo quod nutriebat canes suos⁵; this has been cited as referring to Godric's wife and as an instance of the contemptuous treatment of Saxon ladies by Normans, but is capable of other interpretations.

iii. **Godwin**, King's thane, has been bracketed in Table VIII with three other entries, because the four villis are contiguous. The possible objection to this—that they fell to three different Normans,—is met by the unquestionable case which follows next.

iv. **Godwin Franpolt** (Frambolt) is probably the bear of the family of Frambald or Frembaud which in the xiiijth. century held a good deal of land in the county. This nickname in Elizabethan time apparently meant 'spirited' or secondarily 'peevish.' The fate of his four holdings is instructive, for each fell to a different Norman.

v. **Guert**¹ (A.S. Gyrth), Earl of East Anglia and of Oxford, was fourth son of Earl Godwine (Ped. VII). He is related to have fought at Stamford Bridge, and afterwards to have urged Harold to remain in London while he himself would lead the English against the invaders. He stood by his brother under the royal standard at Hastings, and on the second onset of the Normans brought down William's charger with a spear; William rushed forward afoot and slew Gyrth with his own hand. Much legend has gathered round his name.

vi. **Harold**, Earl of Wessex (Ped. VII), King of England for ten months of 1066, held in this county only the manor of Westoning. The fact that 'after King Edward's death, it did not acquit itself of the King's geld' seems to imply that it was Harold's own land. Like many of his manors in other counties it was seized by William, but tenants on five villis who were Harold's men were not added to the royal demesnes or even to the King's service.

vii. **Homdai** presents something of a puzzle. It is distinctly written as one word (though this might be Honidai). Just across the Bucks. border are Wlwin ho' di', Uluric ho' di', and Dot ho' dei². Maitland³ points out that in two Saxon charters the homo dei was evidently intended as a 'man of God,' a vassal of the abbey benefited by the charter; but in the three Bucks. entries there is no suggestion of a religious house, and Uluric at least is apparently described in the previous entry as a man of Borgred, while our Homdai is a man of Earl Harold. Ellis⁴ expanded Wlwin as homo dim. or Half man; and this is the most likely explanation, on the analogy of a nickname met early in Beds., namely Half knight (Half cniht, Halveknit); and the names perhaps referred to the size of their holdings.

viii. **Leveva** (A.S. Leofgifu). As one lady of the name was commended to Earl Waltheof, and the land of the other fell to his wife, they have been provisionally bracketed; but the name is not uncommon.

§ 175.

i. **Levenot** (Map IV) is probably the man of King Edward who held 14½h. in Ellesborough co. Bucks., and the Levenot son of Osmund who had a man in Waven-

e. V.C.H., Bucks., i, 240a, 241b, 246a.

f. Regesta, no. 23. The possibility of his identity with a great Gloucester thane, of whom a legend is told (Freeman, N.C., iv; Ellis, Introduction to D.B., ii, 54-56) should be borne in mind.

g. Freeman, N.C., iv, 724-728.

h. V.C.H., Bucks., i, 258b.

i. B.H.R.S., v, 55.

j. D.B., i, 57b.

k. Merry Wives of Windsor, II. ii, 94.

l. D.N.B., xxiii, 411.

m. V.C.H., Bucks., i, 241, 264.

n. D.B., 275, 202.

o. Intro. to D.B., ii, 273; and compare Commendati dimidii in the same work, i, 65, 66.

don; this is rather supported by the holding of Leuric son of Osmund in Tillsworth, the next vill to Levenot's great manor of Totternhoe. His succession by Walter Fleming enables us to identify him as once a wealthy thane in Northants., where he seems to have retained after the Conquest a single hide of land as Walter's undertenant^p.

ii. **Lewin cilt** (the second name seems to denote royal or at least noble blood) was son of Eadwine de Cadendune, whose will^q bequeathed to him lands in Sunnandune Cadendune Strætlea Hætlea (apparently Sundon Caddington Streatley and Hatley, co. Beds.), Pirian Puttanh and Beranlea (probably Barley co. Herts.). Of these, he appears in the Beds. D.B. as having held in Streatley which touches Sundon, and in Caddington; in the Herts. D.B. as in Caddington and Barley. He appears in none of the three Hatleys; and Pirian is still unidentified, unless it represented Bure in the Tring district, where a Lewin had held freely T.R.E., and at farm T.R.W. But Lewin man of Earl Waltheof, who had 6h. 3v. in Totternhoe is probably the same man, and the transcriber of the will seems to have made Totternhoe into Puttanh by the common mistake of p for þ, Thotenho being a known early spelling of this name.

iii. **Osulf son of Franc** held also across the Herts. border at Barworth in Studham and at Miswell in Tring, and in Bucks. at Cheddington and Clifton Reynes; all these with his Beds. lands fell to Robert de Toden; as man or thane of Kg. Edward he held also in Moulsoe and Sherington co. Bucks, which fell to others. The charter by which he and his wife Æthelitha promised land in Studham to St. Alban at their deaths (§ 73) has been already printed^r.

iv. **Stigand**^s, schismatic Archbishop of Canterbury, appears as a royal chaplain so far back as 1033, and in this capacity served successively the Kings Cnut, Harthacnut, and Edward; though he does not appear to have been styled Chancellor, he certainly acted as head of the royal secretariat. Consecrated Bishop of Elmham in 1043 and of Winchester in 1047, he was employed in diplomacy by Edward and Harold, and appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1052 on the outlawry and flight of his predecessor. The appointment was uncanonical, and was resisted by Rome; the only pallium which he received was sent by a schismatic pope in 1058, and was repudiated by succeeding popes, who in turn summoned and excommunicated Stigand as schismatic. He submitted to William at Wallingford in 1066, and was present at his coronation. Accused before Papal Legates in 1070, he was imprisoned for life, and died in 1072; Orderic describes him as an ambitious and worldly minded man, whose hands were stained by perjury and homicide. Extensive lands in this county seem to have been held by him personally and not as Archbishop.

§ 176.

i. **Tosti** (A.S. Tostig), was third son of Earl Godwine (Ped. VII), and outlawed with his father in 1051; shortly after their return he was created Earl of

Northumbria, and possibly also of Hunts. and Northants. He proved himself bloody and treacherous; his misgovernment was so great that in 1065 the Northumbrians revolted, elected Morkere as their Earl, and marched southward, joined by the men of Lincs. Notts. and Derbs., and by the western Mercians and Welsh under Morkere's brother Eadwine. The revolt was not merely political; it was an excuse for the last of the old Danish forays for plunder and slaves; not only was Northants. devastated, but "the other shires which are nigh there were for many winters the worse"; among these Bedfordshire seems to have been touched in the north. From Northampton, where the main part of the rebels seems to have halted, Morkere went forward as envoy to Oxford, and there met Harold who in Edward's name confirmed him as Earl, and Tostig was outlawed. Having married in 1051 Judith sister of Count Baldwin of Flanders, in 1065/6 he wintered in that country, and on Edward's death offered his help to William; during the summer of 1066 he made piratical descents on the English coast from the Wight to the Humber with no great effect. Later in the year he joined Harald Hardrada, King of Norway, in his invasion of Northumbria, and with him was defeated and slain at the battle of Stamford Bridge. The probable descent of his lands in this county, and his possible function as Earl of Bedford, have been already discussed (§ 127n).

ii. **Tovi** priest is the only priest in our Record who can be definitely attached to a church; he appears merely as undertenant of the Bishop of Bayeux in Bolnhurst 13; but in a confirmation of Bolnhurst to Thorney Abbey, made between 1085 and 1093, it is provided that the church which Tovi priest holds there, he shall hold at the pleasure of the Abbot^t.

iii. **Turchil**, King's thane, held also in Moulsoe, just across the Bucks. border.

iv. **Ulf**, King's thane, who held both the Bucks. and Beds. moieties of Edlesborough, seems to have held also in Newport Pagnell, Tickford, and Little Woolstone, co. Bucks.

v. **Ulmar of Etone** [Socon], whose Beds. lands mainly passed through Lisois de Moustiers and Eudo dapifer to form ultimately the Barony of Beauehamp of Eaton, has been already discussed in this publication^u.

vi. **Ulsi** (Ulf) son of Borgred, see Borred (§ 173).

vii. **Wenesi** chamberlain held also in Turweston co. Bucks., and is there described as chamberlain of King Edward.

ix. **Wulwi** (A.S. Wulfwig) was appointed to the see of Dorchester co. Oxon. in 1052-3, and in 1053 went to Rome for consecration in order to avoid the ministrations of the schismatic Stigand; he died in 1067 or 1068. Since he attests in 1067 as Wlwinus episcopus Lincolnensis^v, it seems that he and not Remigius should be regarded as the first bishop of Lincoln. This view is confirmed by the references to Lincoln and St. Mary of Stow in his will^w, and accounts for his men in this county as 'of the Bishop of Lincoln.' The transference of the cathedra must have been determined upon long before it actually occurred, producing the apparent

p. V.C.H., Northants., i, 341b.

q. B.H.R.S., v, 53, 54.

r. B.H.R.S., v, 55.

s. D.N.B., liv, 369.

t. Anglo-Saxon Chron., R.S. 23, ii, 163.

u. Regesta, i, nos. 345 and liv.

v. B.H.R.S., i, 64-70.

w. Round: Commune, 29; Regesta, no. 8.

x. Kemble: Cod. Diplom., iv, 290, 291.

paradox that while Wulfwig was first bishop of Lincoln, Remigius was last bishop of Dorchester, and attests as such in 1072⁹, although actually addressed officially as bishop of Lincoln at an earlier date¹.

viii. **Wulward** (A.S. Wulfheard) the White (lewt, wit, albus) held a large estate in Bucks. and other counties. Living for some time after the Conquest, he was present at William's Court in 1068². Both he and his wife Edith seem to have been members of the Household of Edward's Queen Edith, and he attested (probably as her Chamberlain) at her Court at Wilton in 1070³. From the D.B. of Hants. it appears likely that he had also been of the Household of Emma, Queen of Cnut and Æthelred (d. 1052); for she had given one moiety of the manor of Hayling to the Old Minster at Winchester, the other to Wulward for life, to pass to the Monastery with his body for sepulture⁴; this was attested by Æthelsige, Abbot of Ramsey (§ 154), a monk of Winchester at that time. Wulward died before 1086,

apparently leaving a son Wulward whom D.B. records to have had three burgesses in Buckingham and a man in Woughton⁵ under the style of Wulward filius Eddeue, his father being dead but his mother alive. She seems to have been allowed to retain after the Conquest four hides at Linford, held from the Bishop of Coutances⁶, as well as a manor in Somerset. Wulward and Edith had also a daughter who married Alsí, Queen Edith's 'stiweard' or dapifer at the Wilton Court already mentioned; he received with her from the Queen three holdings in Bucks⁷, which he retained 'de Rege' as tenant in chief in 1086. It is very probable that he is the 'Alsí man of Queen Edith' who had held in Bromham and Biddenham (150 and 149).

In Beds. Wulward held Toddington (101), and he is almost certainly by scribal error the 'Edward wit' who held 10 acres in Chalgrave (102), the next entry and the next vill; this fell with Toddington to Ernulf de Hesding.

C. PEDIGREES.

These form pages 109 to 112.

DESCRIPTION OF MAPS.

§ 177. **General.**—On each map are shown in black ink the names of existing parishes in modern form, names of D.B. vills and manors which are not modern parishes, and (by dots) the modern parish boundaries.* All supplementary information is given in coloured inks. The scale of the maps is a half inch to the mile.—The County shown is the existing County, plus Tillbrook and Holwell now lost to it. Hanefeld, Elvendon, and Segresdon cannot as yet be exactly placed, but were apparently intermixed with Keysoe, Riseley and Pertenhall, perhaps also with Kimbolton and Little Staughton; they have been marked near these vills but outside the County.

§ 178. **Map I: The Hundreds of 1086.**—This has been drawn on the assumption that the existing parish boundaries are now the same as they were in 1086. The assumption is not merely unjustifiable; it is demonstrably incorrect. But as we are unable as yet to draw these parish boundaries for Norman time, this is the only possible method of obtaining a mental picture of the extent of the Hundreds, and is therefore valuable within the necessary limitations.

§ 179. **Maps II and III: Norman Estates.**—These have been prepared to show the distribution over the County of those chief estates which later formed important Honours. From the centre of each fief—the caput or the castle—radiate leading lines, terminating in circles which show the number of hides and virgates held in the vill concerned; fractions of virgates are omitted; demesne is shown by tint in the interior of the circle. In the case of the Fleming estate in Map III. the lands of Hugh Fleming and of Walter brother of Seiher are indicated by breaks at long intervals in the

leading lines; the lands of Azelina Taillebois, treated in Map II as part of the Beauchamp fief, are similarly broken.

§ 180. **Map IV: Saxon Estates.**—The more important Saxon holdings are shown by methods similar to those employed for Norman estates; in addition, the locality of 'men' of a thane are indicated by a cross at the end of their leading line. It is apparent from this map that the lands of 'men' lay almost invariably within a few miles at most of some holding of their overlord; the principle of the association was certainly geographical, when not actually territorial. An exception is formed by Earl Tostig (his 'men' not shown); his importance was sufficient to attract 'men' from all over the shire, as happened also in the case of Edward and his Queen.

§ 181. **Map V: Distribution of Meadow Land.**—In spite of the impossibility of arriving at an exact result in absolute figures, it seems worth while to attempt to record the proportionate amount of meadow in each vill on a map. In the first place, we have no certain and exact measure for the meadow land, we only know that it would support so many teams; in the second, we know that the acreage of many vills has been altered since 1086, land having been transferred from one to another, and though the materials for ascertaining the extent of the alteration may still be on record in many cases, they have never been brought together. Yet if we take the suggested 24 acres of meadow as sufficient for a team of 8 oxen (§ 59), and find what percentage the meadow thus estimated bears to the present day acreage, we ought to obtain an idea of the amount of D.B. meadow land, which should be—not absolutely true

y. Regesta, i, nos. 64, 65.

z. Regesta, i, no. 53.

a. Regesta, i, no. 23.

b. Hist. MSS. Comm., Wells, i, 434.

c. D.B. i, 43b; V.C.H. Hants., i, 473a.

d. V.C.H., Bucks., i, 230, 246a.

e. V.C.H. Bucks., i, 240a.

f. V.C.H., Bucks., i, 274, 275.

* The name of the parish or manor is not set over the centre of population, but (as this map is designed for further use) where it will leave most room for notes.

for each vill—but in most cases proportionately true as between vill and vill.* The Map has been prepared on this assumption, and shows by figures and tints what percentage of the modern acreage the estimated meadow formed.

The distribution of meadow for swathe depends mainly on two things,—water and soil. Thus the rather waterless clay lands in the north of the county, and the chalk area in the south although fairly watered,^b show very little meadow land; the conditions are not favourable to its development. The maximum appears on the alluvial lands of the valleys of the Ivel and its tributaries, of the Ouse (notably in the limestone area in and above Biddenham), and of the Ouzel and its tributaries; the lie of these is shown on Map VII. There is one obvious exception in a strip of low percentages on the Ouse at Wilshamstead, Harrowden, Cardington and Cople, which may with fair probability be set down to their northern ends, abutting on the present river, having been pure marsh, as already suggested; a similar explanation would apply to Wardon. Geologically speaking, the areas of the Gault, Greensand, and Oolitic Limestone, show the highest amount of meadow; those of the Boulder Clay, Chalk, and Oxford Clay, the least.

§ 182. Map VI: Distribution of Woodland.

—The acreage of woodland available for pannage has been calculated on the assumption (§ 66) that each head of swine needs some $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres; the result has then been expressed as a percentage of the modern acreage in figures on the Map, and the percentages have then been grouped by a system of graduated tints. The difficulties and dangers of the method are those discussed in the last paragraph.

§ 183. Map VII: Probable sites of D.B. mills.

—For identification of the sites of D.B. mills, we may with fair safety hazard the postulate that a water mill which is still at work, or which can be traced by tradition or name or by the remains of mill-pond and dam, is almost certain to be on the site of the D.B. mill if there is and was only one in that vill. There are exceptions in the shape of a few mills not recorded in D.B. and Ampthill's Doolittle Mill appears to be one of them. But the mill was so valuable a source of revenue to the lord, and so advantageous to his husbandry, that we may feel fairly confident that a mill was set up in nearly every vill where it was possible. Here again there is an exception, but it is one that helps the argument; once and once only does our D.B. say that "a mill can be made there" (Cudsand 82), and in this case the tenant Ralf de Langetot already had one close by (Campton 83). Our Record further complains that a mill is out of repair (fractum) at Shillington 58, but its lord the Abbot of Ramsey had two at Pegsdon 54, a little higher up the stream, and the phrase need not mean more than that some part of the gear was broken. The mere mention by D.B. of these two cases seems to show that few opportunities of setting up mills were lost.

Not only would their economic value stimulate their erection, but as a rule they could be erected and worked more advantageously then than at a later date. While

a. Even if the figures of 24 acres be wrong, the proportion between the various percentages will remain the same; and the amount of meadow is generally so small a part of the total that its percentage value would only be affected by a large error in the acreage. The result can, however, only be regarded as approximately true, until an intimate study of the alterations in parish boundaries has been made.

b. The large amount of woodland in Luton, estimated at 20 per cent. of

the great lowering of the water level due to the drainage of the Fens only dates from the time of James I, yet this lowering must have been slowly continuous through the earlier centuries, as a result of that gradual clearing of forest which enabled the surface water to run off more easily, and of the almost incessant extension of arable land; the ditches and dykes, of which early records make such frequent mention, all served to get the water away. Consequently we find record of D.B. mills on brooks or near spring-heads which to-day seem ludicrously inadequate to drive a heavy wheel.

In the compilation of Map VII therefore, where a mill exists to-day in the parish, the site of the D.B. mill has been assigned to it as a rule. Where a D.B. mill has disappeared, the evidence of the six-inch Ordnance Survey has been sought; sometimes this has preserved a record in such names as Mill Holme, Pinchmill, Watermill Bridge; where this evidence is wanting, the Survey has been searched and has often revealed an islet with sufficient channels on each side to serve as mill-stream and weir-stream, and this has been suggested as the probable site, especially if approached by driftways or lanes. But a map prepared on these lines can only be regarded as a somewhat rash experiment; it needs to be supplemented by detailed knowledge of the locality and checked by manorial descent, but it at least draws attention to an attractive field for research.

§ 184. Notes on Special Mills.—

Totternhoe 233, 265. It is difficult to realise that the Totternhoe streams can have worked four separate mills; probably two or even three wheels were coupled on Walter Fleming's holding. One is extant as a Doolittle Mill (a name often applied to that on the head waters of a stream).

Bletsoe 148, 301. Probably these two moiéties formed Stoke Mill, which lies in a detached part of Bletsoe surrounded by Sharnbrook on three sides.

Goldington 128. The 'Priory Mill' which later was given to Newenham Priory has been traced in V.C.H.* to Hugh de Beauchamp's holding in Goldington which 'lay to' Putnoe.

Putnoe 124. The same authority refers the Putnoe mill to 'Castle Mill' at Risinghoe in Goldington.

Chainhalle 126. When I ventured to identify Chainhalle with the modern Ravensden on feudal grounds,^b Mr. Steele Elliott pointed out the difficulty presented by the mill, as it seemed improbable that anything so small as Ravensden Brook could have carried a mill of 40s. and 100 eels. Now that the D.B. mills have been tabulated, I agree with his contention; but as it also appears from D.B. that a mill did not always lie physically in the manor to which it belonged (§ 12), the mill of Chainhalle must be sought elsewhere. That Ravensden manor undoubtedly had a mill has already been pointed out.^c It may prove to have been connected with, possibly a part of, the Putnoe Mill, which later was described as three mills under one roof.*

its area, does not seem to leave much room for meadow when teamlands have been deducted.

a. V.C.H., iii, 206.

b. B.H.R.S., i, 63.

c. Zoologist, 1914, p. 121.

d. B.H.R.S., ii, 266; v, 228.

e. Pat. Roll, 29 Henry viii. pt. 2, m. 21; quoted in V.C.H. iii, 206n.

Pegsdon 54. The only mill at present on this brook is in Hexton parish on the county boundary, though D.B. records three mills of the total value of 6s. 8d. As the Abbot of Ramsey's mills were worth 27s. 8d. they were presumably lower down the stream, but the Ordnance Survey shows no likely spot.

Stanford. The extant 'Holme Mill' is really in Southill.

Beeston 115. The manor lay in both Sandy and Northill; the mill may have been on the same island as the present Sandy Mill.

Keysoe 122. Possibly at Grange Farm.

Eyworth 218. Possibly Hook Mill now in Guilden Morden.

Hatley 339. The value seems too high for this to have been on the head waters of Sutton Brook; it may have been on the Rhee in Tadlow, which was also a manor of Azelina Taillebois. The present boundary between Cockayne Hatley and Tadlow is purely arbitrary, apparently made with a ruler.

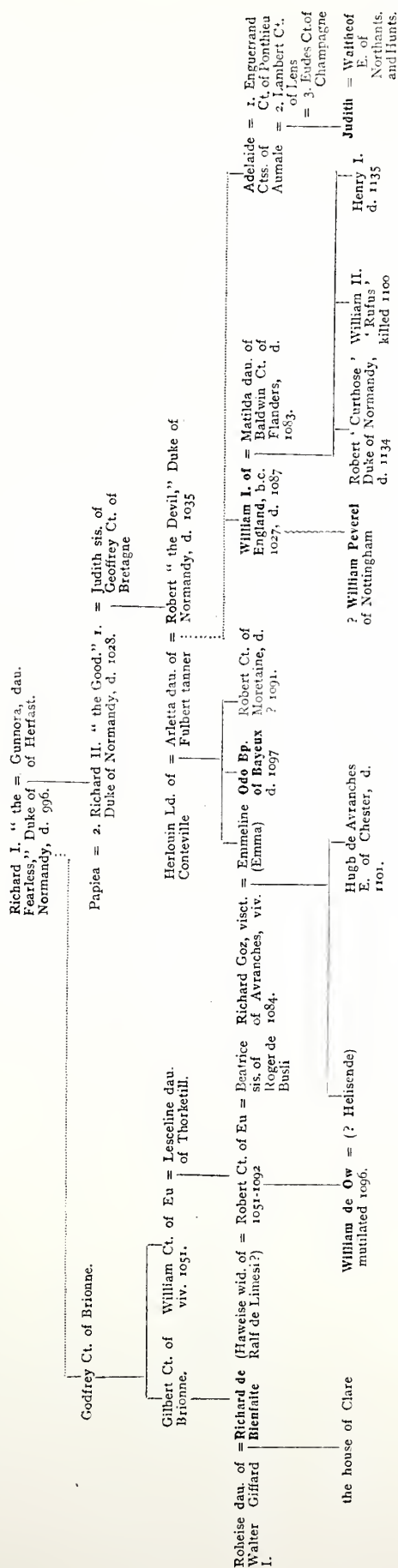
Luton 4, 5. Advantage has been taken of Mr. W. Austin's study of these mills.

§ 185. Map VIII: Devastation of 1065 and 1066.—The principles, on which the data for this map have been prepared, have been explained in § 119. The contour lines include all villis in which the Q.R. Valet of 1066/7 had been reduced to 55 per cent. or less of the T.R.E. Valet; the figures in red show the percentages; the nearest points in neighbouring counties on the apparent line of the Conqueror's march are also shewn in red.

A few outlying depreciations in the north, which may be due either to the Normans, or to Earl Mortere's raid in 1065, are connected by arrows.

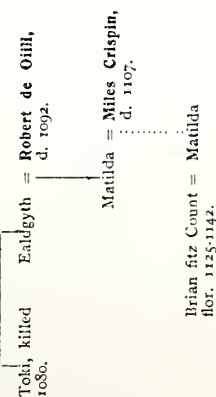
§ 186. Map IX: Distribution of Socland T.R.E.—It is not very instructive, it may easily be deceptive, to plot the mere numbers of soclands on a map: we need some method of comparing them with land held on other tenures. But the record unfortunately does not supply data for calculating the proportionate area which they occupied, nor the proportion of socmen to the rest of the population. We are compelled therefore to fall back on their assessed value, on their hidage, which usually is recorded. On Map IX this hidage has been expressed in figures as a percentage of the total hidage of the vill, and the intensity brought out by tinting; thus '100' means that the whole vill was held in soke, but '50' that only half of it was thus held; and the darkest tint brings out all the villis in which more than half was socland. In a few cases, marked by a ? instead of a figure, there is record of socland but the hidage is not given; the tint of these has been determined from another map, based on the ratio between soclands and teamlands, a method which gave results almost identical with those shown on Map IX. The result of both methods is to show the intensity of soclands, and (presumably) indirectly of socmen. The percentage of the hidage of the county shown as held in soke is 20.1, but this figure is somewhat too small, since the hidage of socland is not recorded in every case. Of course the whole calculation takes for granted that all land held in soke is recorded as such in D.B.; this is possibly not the case, but there is nothing in the text to show it.

PEDIGREE I.

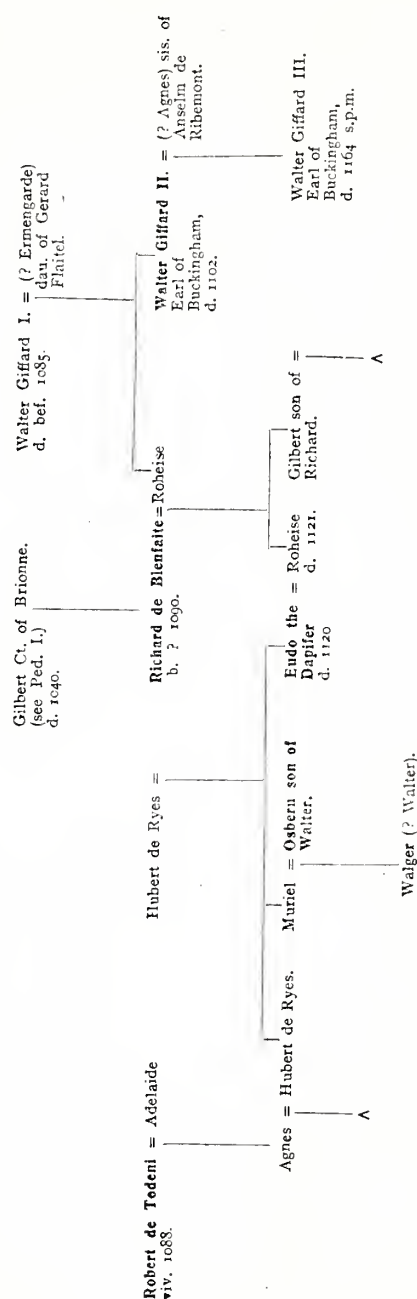


PEDIGREE II.

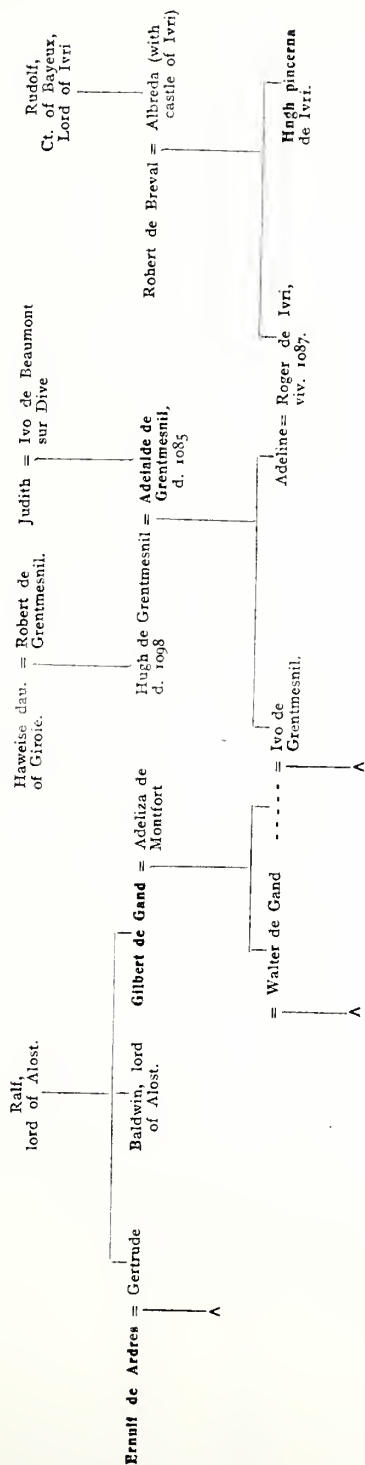
Wigod of Wallingford.



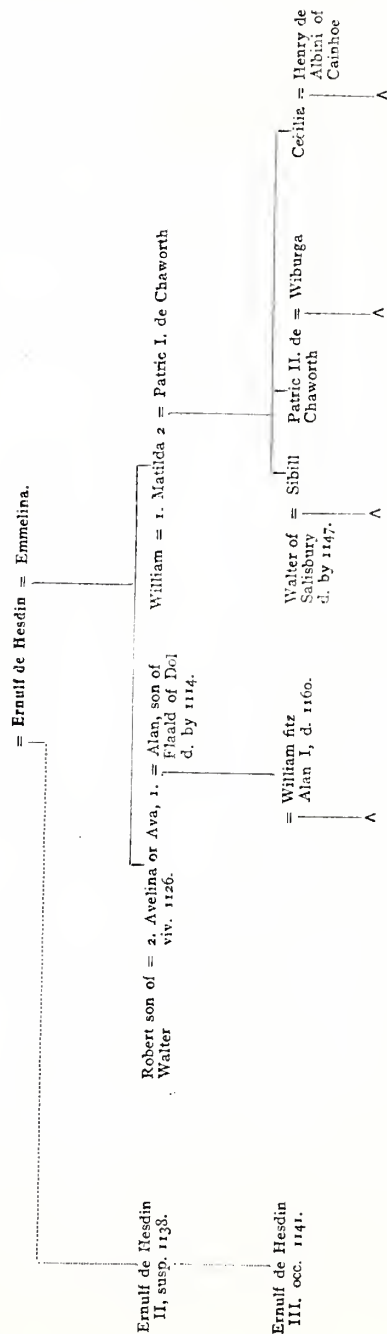
PEDIGREE III.



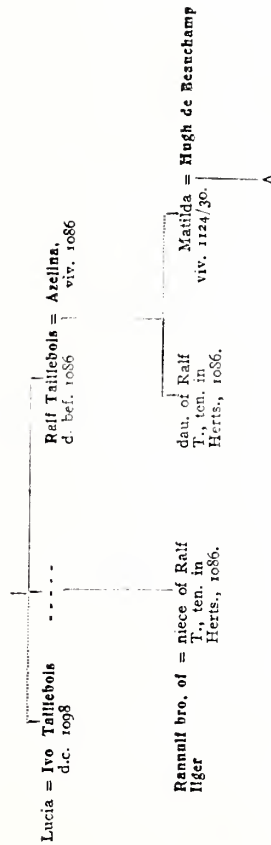
PEDIGREE IV.



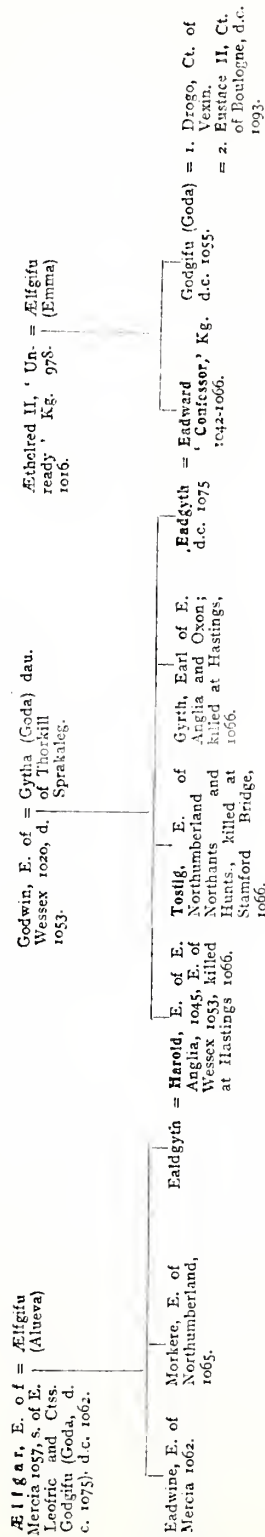
PEDIGREE V.



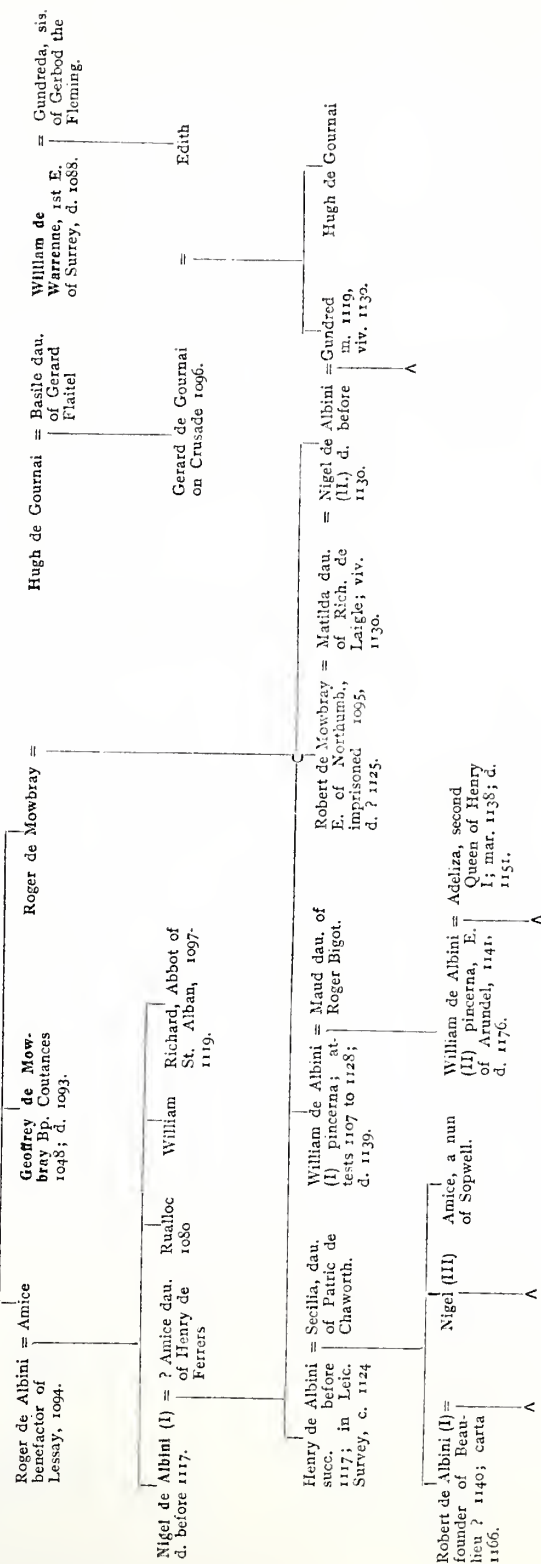
PEDIGREE VI.

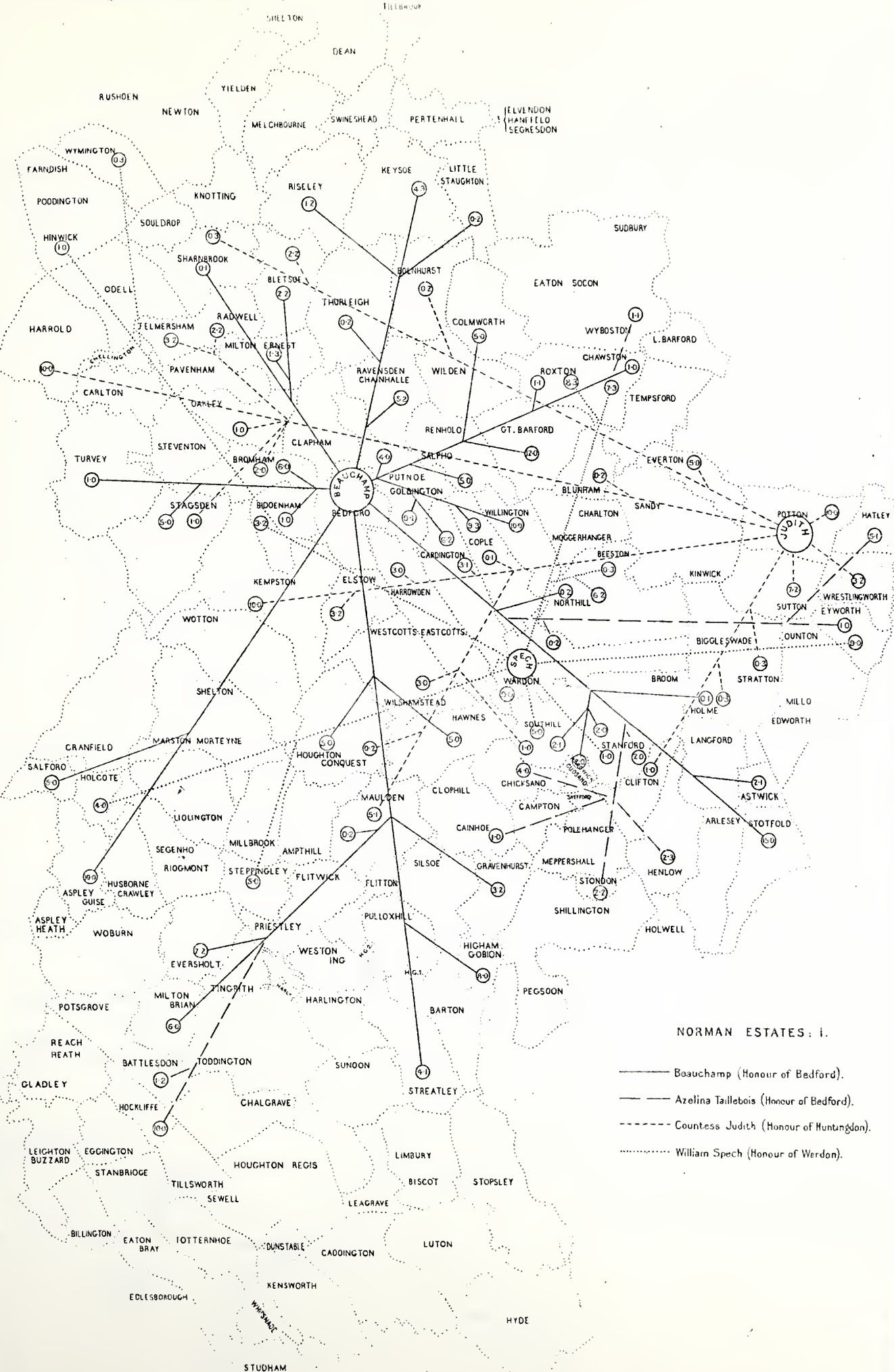


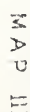
PEDIGREE VII.

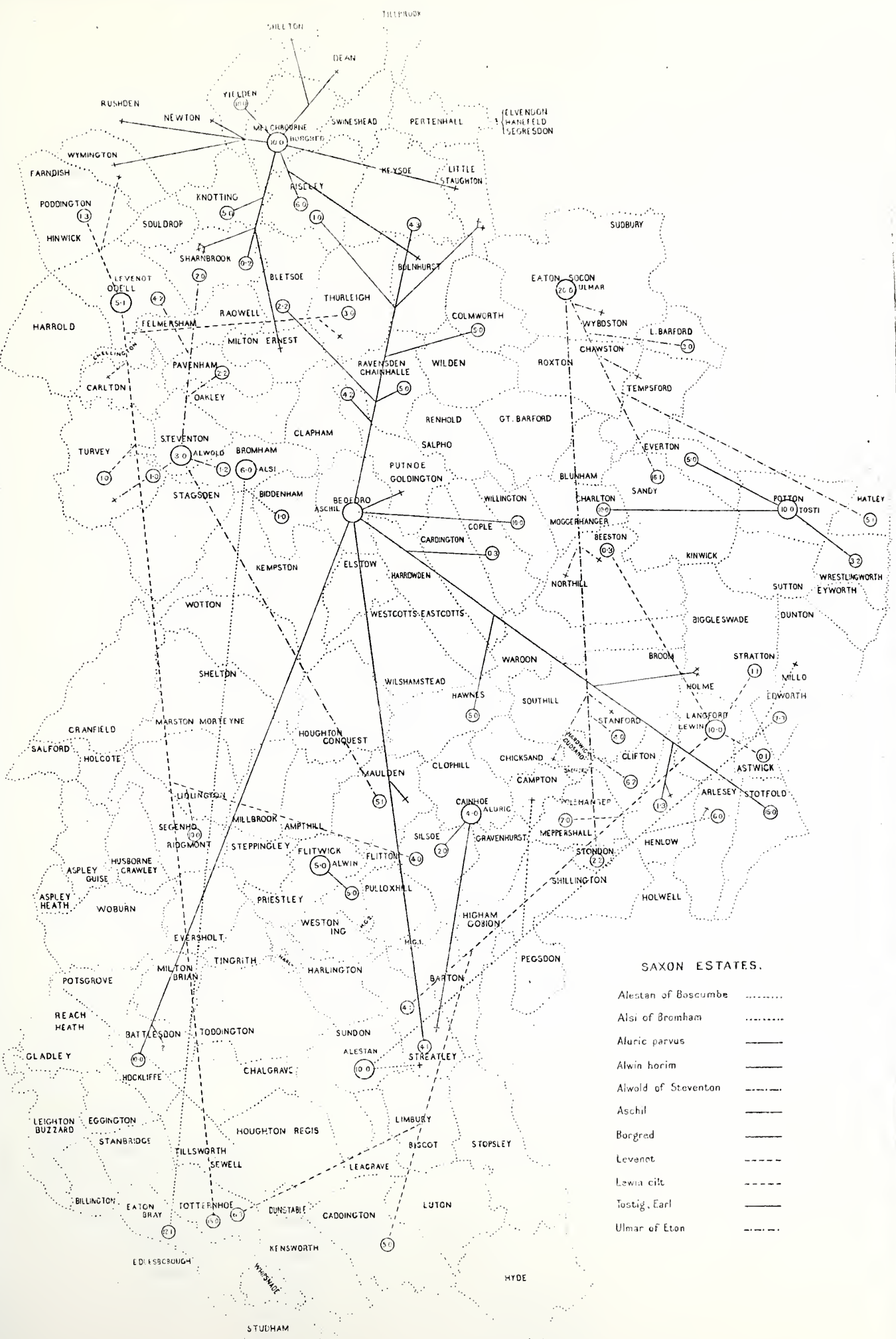


PEDIGREE VIII.





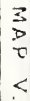




SAXON ESTATES.

- Alestan of Boscumbe
- Alsi of Bromham
- Alric parvus
- Alwin horim
- Alwold of Stevenston
- Aschil
- Borgred
- Levenot
- Lewia gilt
- Tostig, Earl
- Ulmar of Eton

2
MELTON



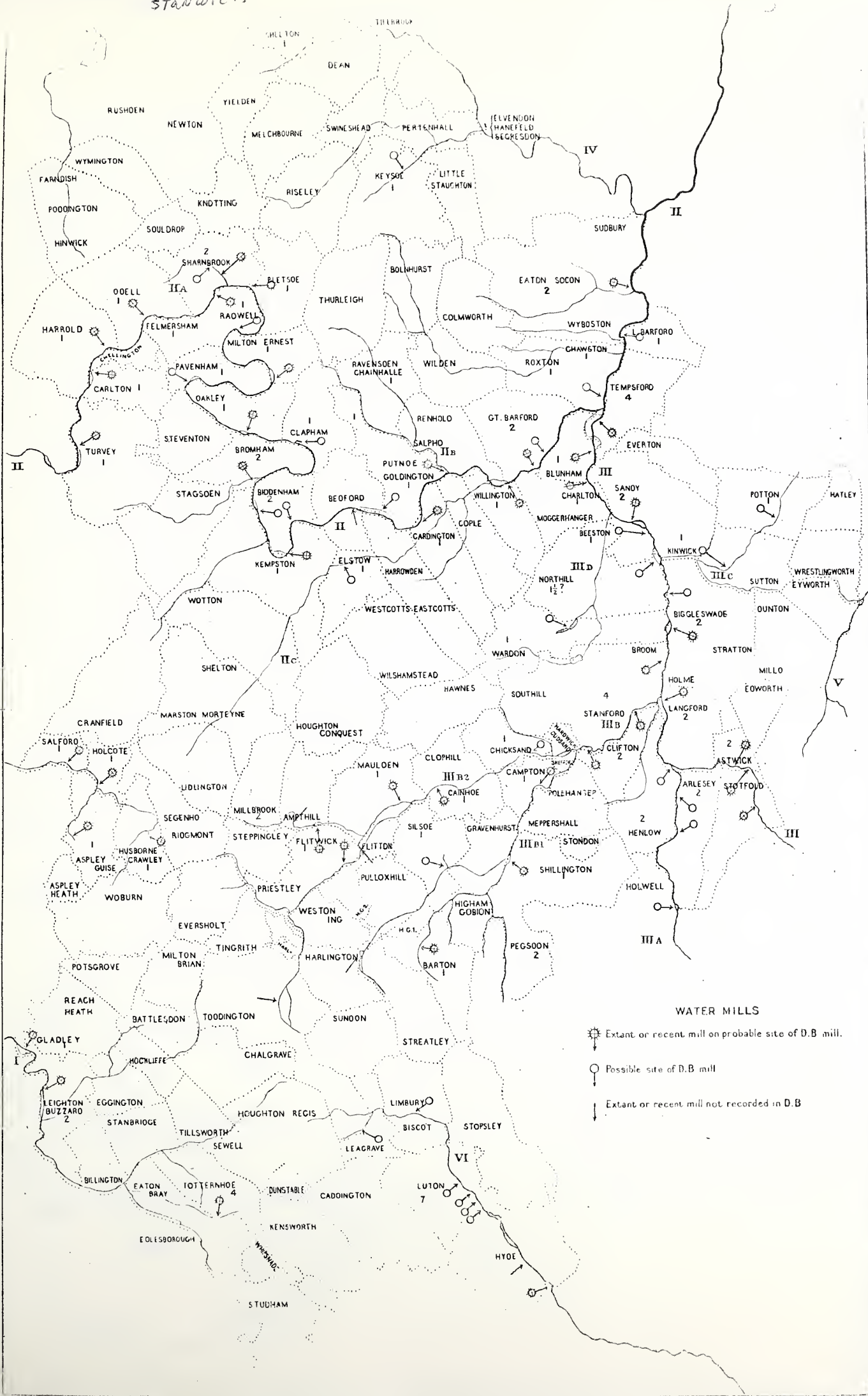
Stanwick

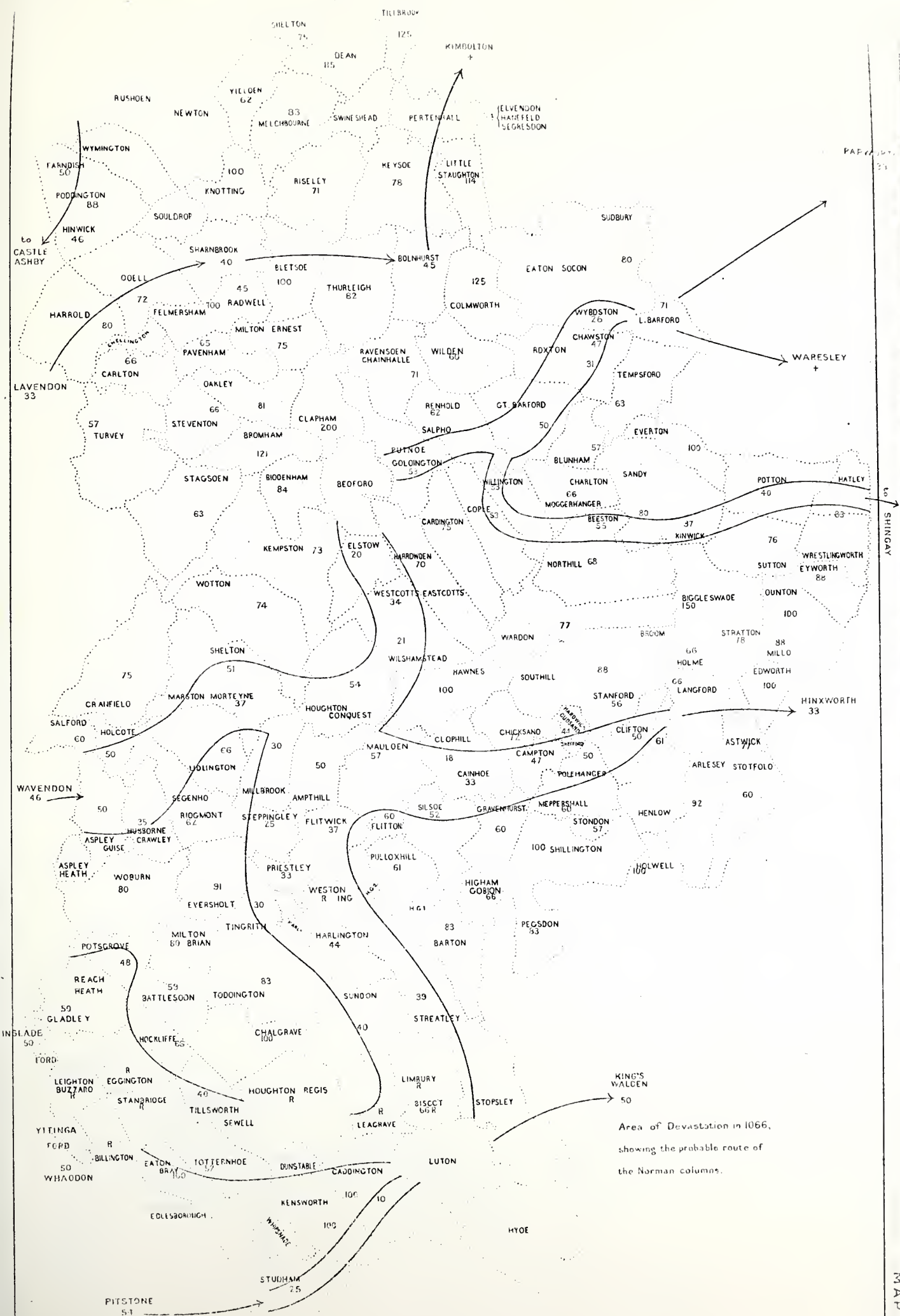


WOOD LAND
as percentage of modern acreage

- Less than 1 per cent
- 1 to 5 per cent
- 6 to 10 per cent
- 11 to 20 per cent
- More than 20 per cent

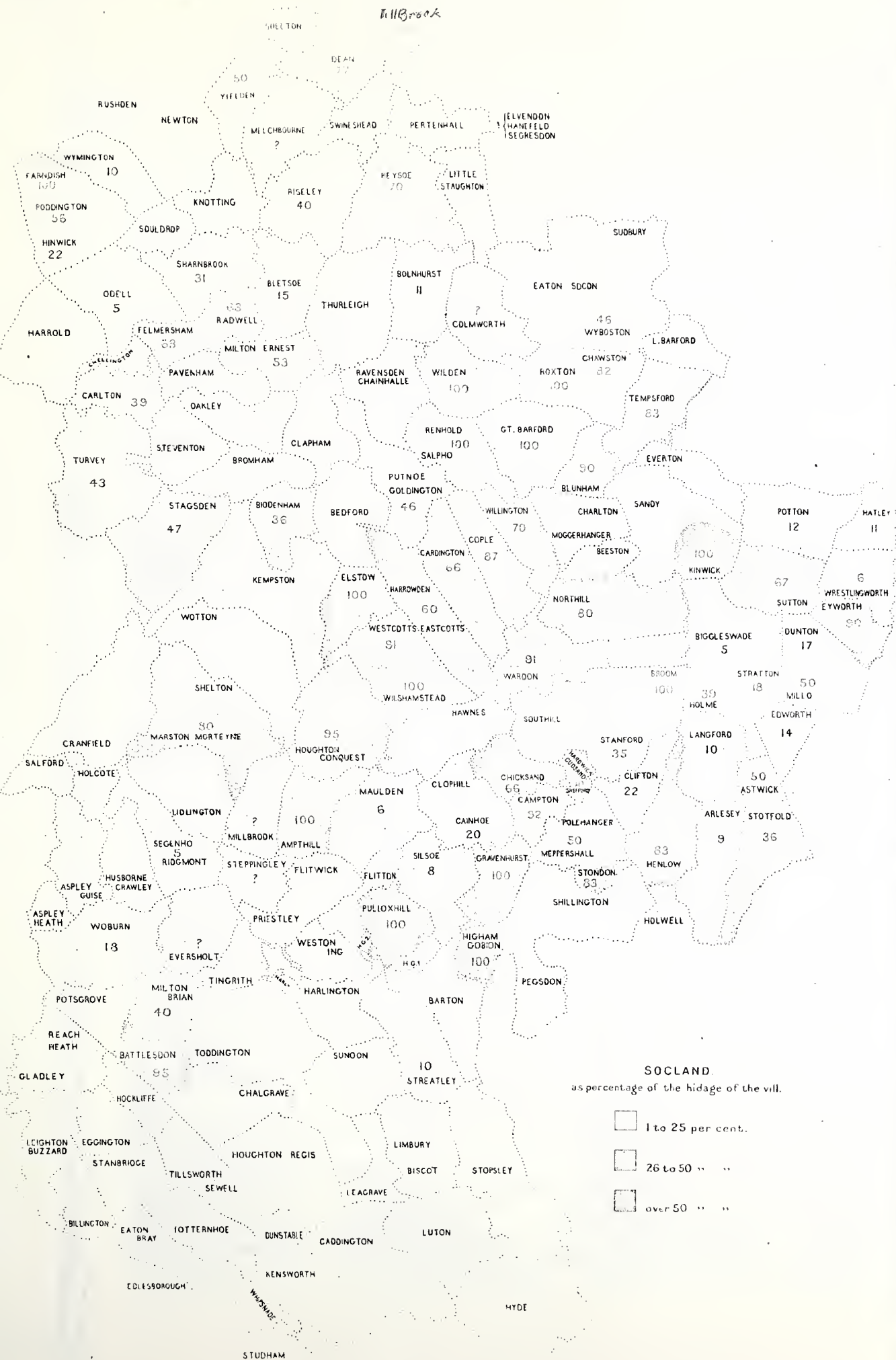
MAP VI





STANWICK

Fullbrook



INDEX.

This Index is to be used merely in supplement to the Tables; their contents do not appear in it as a rule, for they are themselves alphabetical indices to Domesday Book by names of Villis (Table I), Hundreds (Table II), Normans (Tables IV, V, VII), Saxons (Table VIII) or by Soclands (Table IX).

The references in Arabic numerals are to paragraphs (§), except when pages are named; and the numbers of the paragraphs on it are shown at the head

of each page of the text. Pedigrees and Maps are specified by Roman numerals. The Personal notes are generally marked as 'note on.'

Personages of D.B. are listed under font-names, with a reference from the place-name or nick-name if any. Patronymics will be found under the entry 'son of.'

Since the variants of place-names are given in Table I, they have not been repeated in the Index.

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